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THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
THOMAS CRANFELD

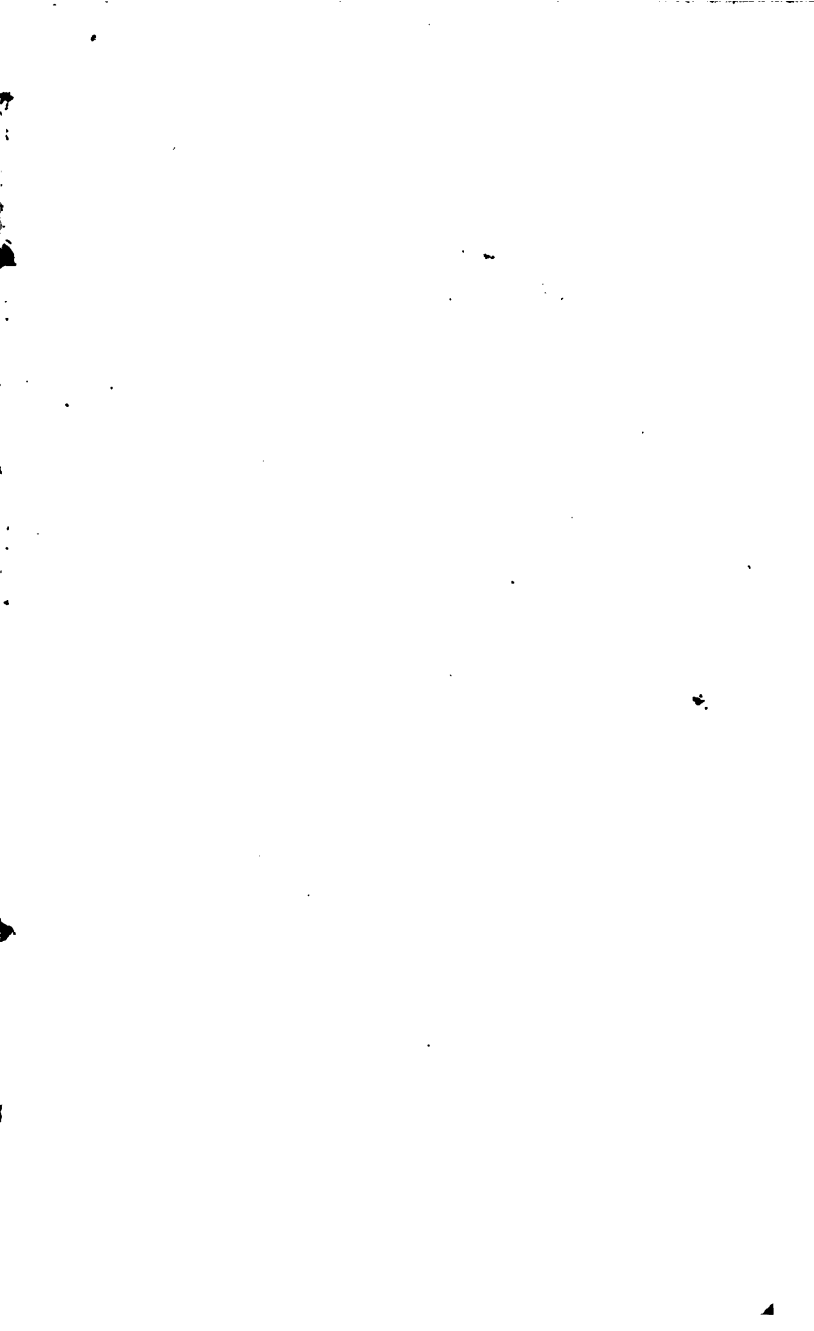
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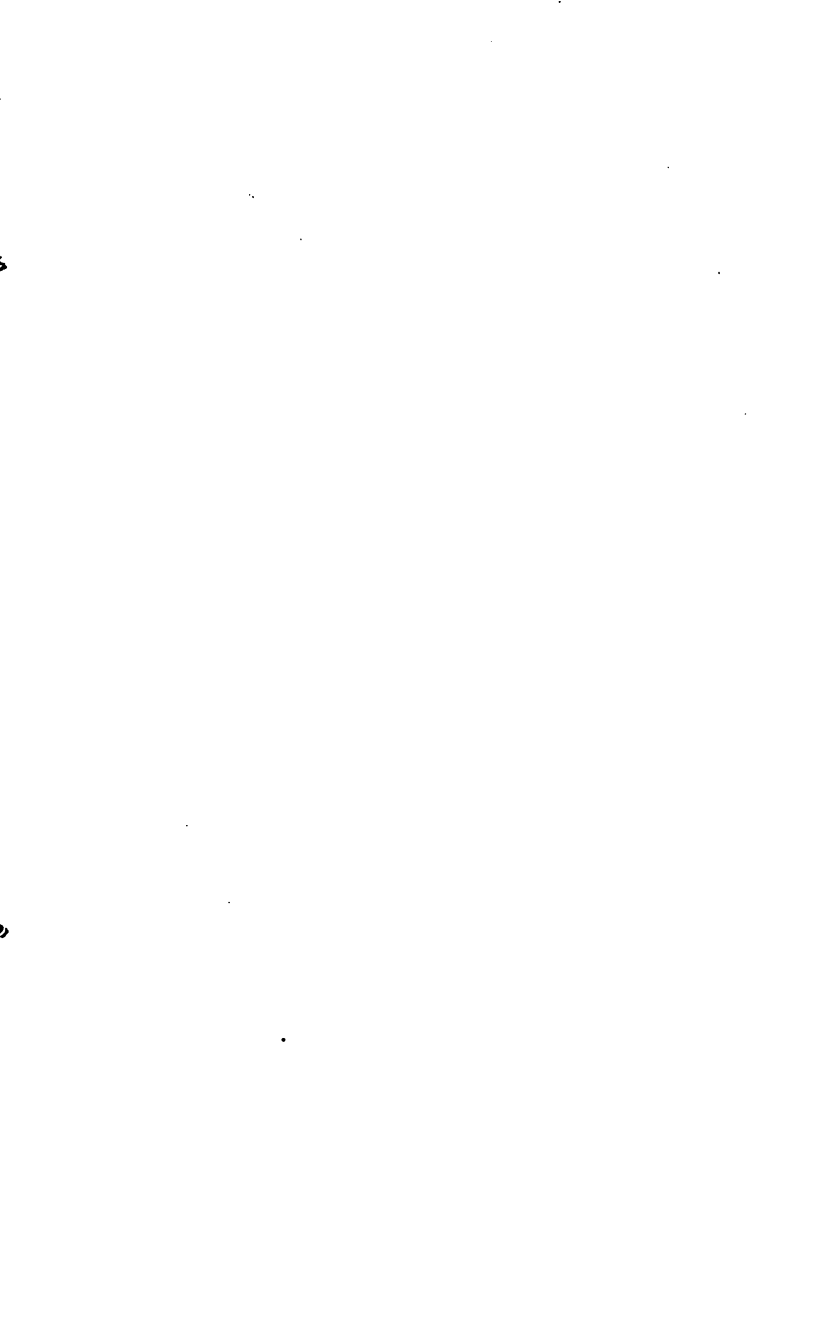
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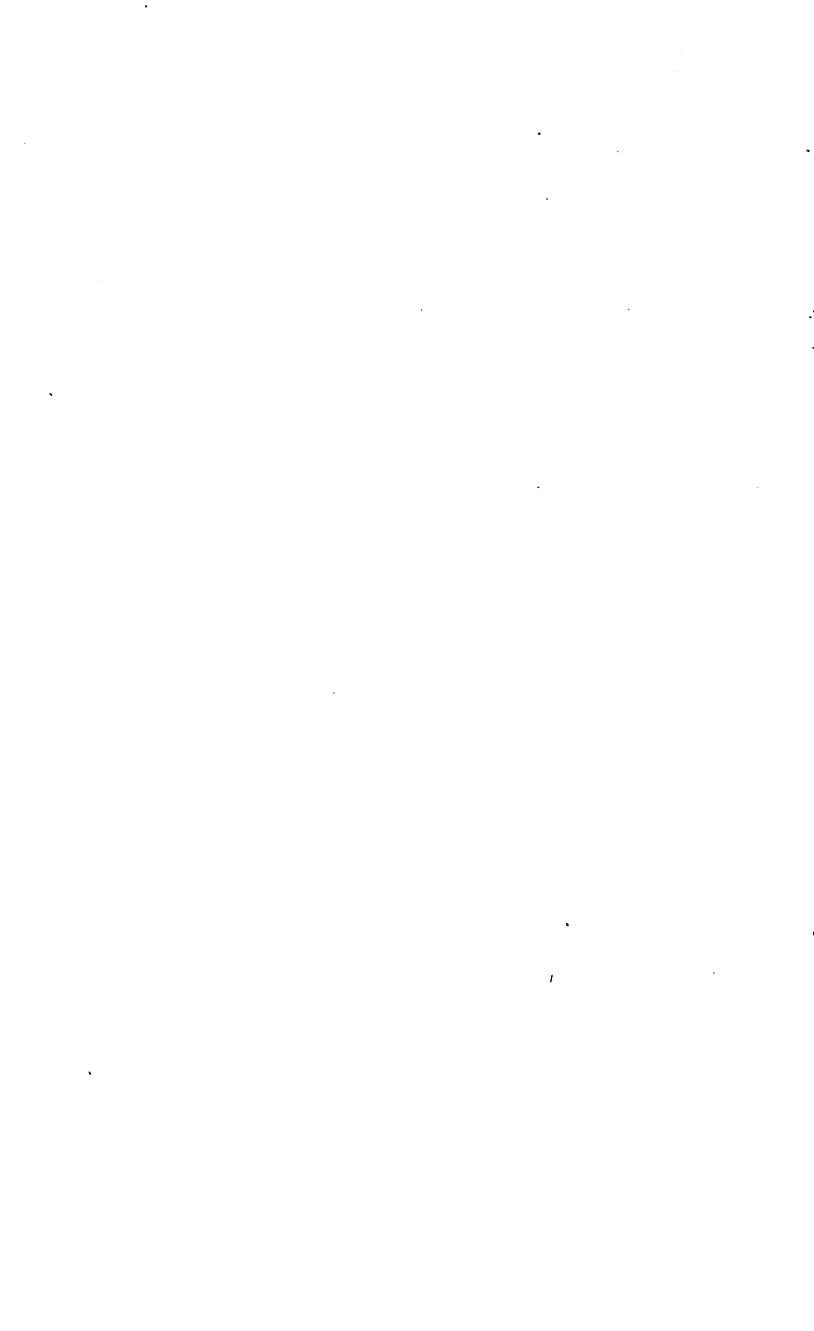
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THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
THOMAS CRANMER.



THE
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OF
THOMAS CRANMER.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "THREE EXPERIMENTS OF LIVING,"
"LIFE AND TIMES OF MARTIN LUTHER," &c.

Mrs Hannah F. Lee
not Eliza Brewster Lee

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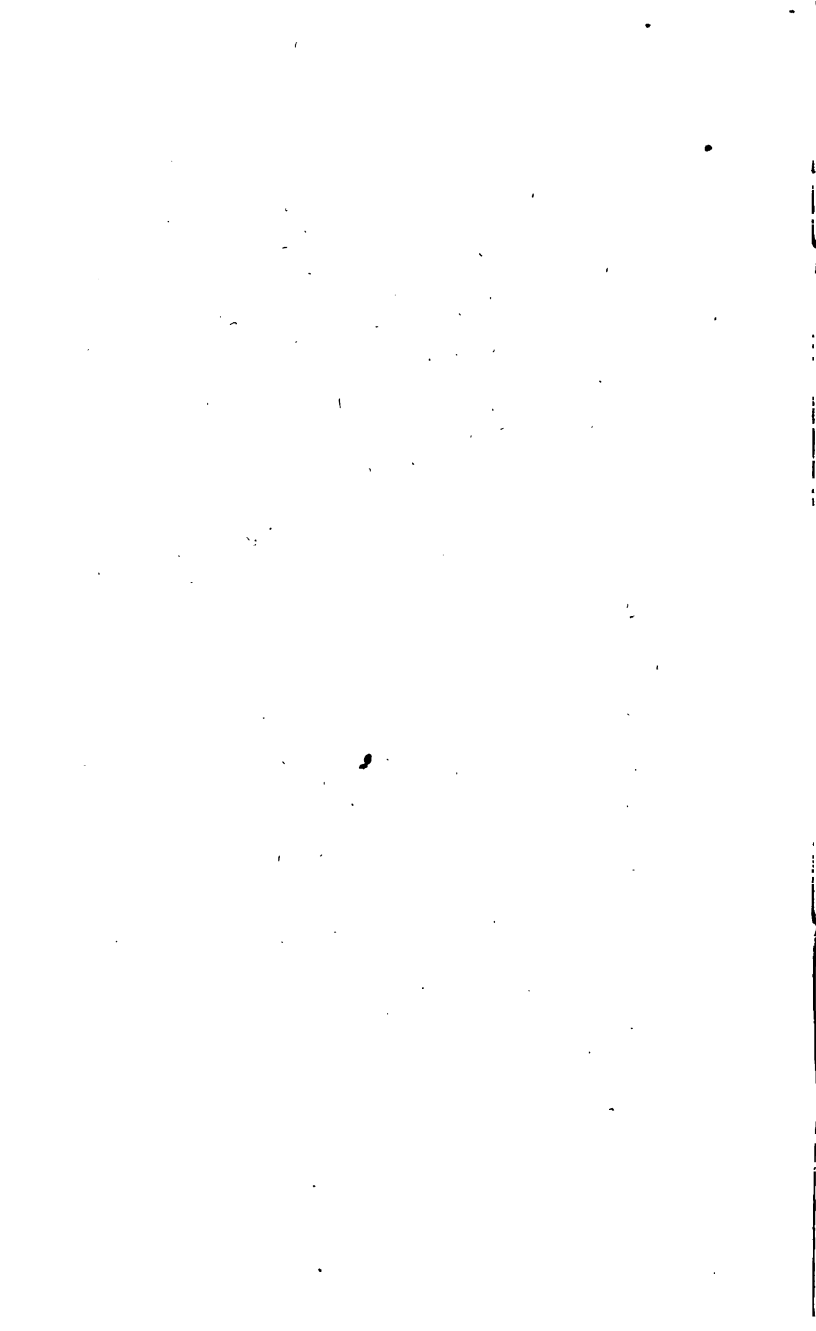
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HON. DANIEL APPLETON WHITE,

BY HIS FRIEND

THE AUTHOR.



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE object of the following biography is not to present any new views or new facts in the life of Cranmer. The path is a beaten one, and so much has been said on this subject, that it may seem useless to add another volume to those which can already be collected. But who collects them, or who looks into the old books of Fox, or hunts out Strype's "Memorials"? Or who, we will yet venture to ask, is familiar with the events of Cranmer's life? The same hope, which animated the author of "Luther and his Times," has stimulated to this attempt, that others may be sufficiently interested in these sketches to induce them to study for themselves the histories of the German and the English reformation. Artists, by taking different positions, give different

views of the same subject, and present us with a variety of pictures, equally true to nature. In leaving out all polemical controversy and abstruse doctrines, and merely viewing Cranmer as connected with the men of his times, we have sought to draw a picture for those who have not leisure or inclination to compose one for themselves.

As it is foreign to our plan to introduce the dull formality of notes, we mention here some of the books which have been consulted in the present work; viz. the old (black letter) books of Fox; Strype's "Memorials of Cranmer"; Burnet's "History of the Reformation," with the documents appended; Le Bas's "Life of Cranmer," and also Gilpin's; Hume's, Smollet's, and Lingard's Histories of England. Other books on the subject have been at hand, and information has been derived from miscellaneous publications.

CRANMER AND HIS TIMES.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY THE EIGHTH ascended the throne in 1509, at the age of eighteen. His father, Henry the Seventh, had left him a well filled treasury, a kingdom at peace with all the world, loyal subjects, and experienced ministers.

Henry united in himself the claims of Lancaster and York. Nature had given him personal beauty, and he was educated in the learning of the times. Had that learning been such as the education of modern times presents to the youthful and ardent mind, a wholly different character might have been formed. But he was doomed to pass his early days in the study of abstruse theological questions, considering learning as the field of polemical debate, and early enlisting under the banners of Thomas Aquinas. This course of education could have but little favorable influence in forming his moral character, or in cultivating a taste for high and noble pursuits.

In manly exercises and in the accomplishments of the day, he was said to be well skilled ; but it is evident that the theory of self-education had never been inculcated upon the mind of the youthful King. There is not the distinction, which the thoughtless are apt to imagine, between the high-born and the low. All have a work to accomplish for themselves, which no earthly power can accomplish for them. The monarch may become the slave of his own vices, and the poorest subject a monarch over himself. The Universal Father does not give to one of his children *bread*, to another *a stone*, but he gives to all the power of being virtuous ; and this power he has placed in the soul. It is not far that we have to seek it, or long to wait for it ; it comes in the form of conscience and principle, and, cherished, springs into action.

It has been common to ascribe the low pursuits of Henry to the influence of Wolsey, whose age and experience undoubtedly gave him dominion over the mind of his royal master ; but it was his knowledge of character that unveiled to him the most effectual way of governing him, by feeding his vanity and administering to his love of pleasure.

We turn with disgust from the mansion of Wolsey, the early resort of the King ; from its guests, its revelry, its low theatrical exhibitions,

its Syrens luring to destroy, and can with difficulty realize, that it was an ecclesiastic, a son of the church, who presided over all.

It is well known how the subserviency of Wolsey was rewarded. He rose from one degree of distinction to another, till he became prime minister. Leo, the Pope, was not slow in discovering that the minister ruled the king, and sought, by conferring honors, to secure the services of Wolsey for his own purposes.

Wolsey's titles multiplied as fast as his ambitious desires. He was made Archbishop of York, Bishop of Durham, Abbot of St. Albans, Lord Chancellor of England, a Legate for life, a Cardinal, and was caressed or feared by all the powers of Europe. Ambition is never satisfied, till it bestrides the globe. There was another elevation to which the Cardinal aspired ; and this was, to be the hero of the Vatican, the infallible head of the church, and to take charge of the keys of St. Peter.

The Emperor of Germany had held out to him this last lure ; the only one that could still excite his satiated desires. One obstacle, however, remained. Leo was as likely to live as himself ; and Leo's life was now the only obstacle.

It was with no common degree of exultation, that Wolsey heard of the sudden death of the

Pope. The time had arrived, which he had so long anticipated. Hitherto, he had been contented with distinguishing himself by his flowing robes of silk and vestments of cloth of gold, by the superb housings of his horses, by having his cardinal's hat borne before him on a pillar of silver by a person of high rank, and placed on the altar at the King's chapel in a reverential manner. His two particular attendants were priests, selected for their great personal beauty. As the Cardinal ascended the steps of the altar, they prostrated themselves on each side, while the audience, with his fifty personal attendants, stood at a respectful distance, not feeling worthy to approach the august prelate.

It was observed, immediately after the news of Leo's death arrived, that he appeared with more pomp than usual on days of public ceremony. The ensigns of his several dignities as Chancellor and Legate were borne before him, he was surrounded by noblemen and prelates, and was followed by a long train of mules, bearing coffers on their backs, covered with gold and crimson cloth.

This parade had begun to pall upon his senses, for he had already passed "many summers in a sea of glory"; but now, he believed, he had reached the zenith of his ambition. His white hair was to be crowned by the jewelled tiara,

and kings and emperors were to acknowledge his supremacy.

As suddenly as Leo's death, arrived the news of Adrian's appointment to the Holy See, and Wolsey saw himself excluded from the chair of St. Peter.

Through the prosperous vicissitudes of Henry's reign, Catharine of Aragon had been the partner of his throne. She had commanded his respect by her virtues, and borne with his faults with a patience and forbearance, that resulted from principle and conjugal affection, rather than from a gentle and indulgent character. To Wolsey she ascribed many of the wanderings of her husband, and spoke to him freely on the subject. Her accusations were severe, and were indignantly received; she reproached him with ministering to the licentious pleasures of the King, and using an influence disgraceful to a prelate.

The haughty and overbearing Cardinal could ill endure this language; and, though he suppressed as far as possible his indignation, Catharine was conscious he had become her bitter enemy.

Hitherto Henry had borne in his gay and jovial countenance the index of his character. But a change seemed to have come over him. His face was no longer clothed in smiles; an expression of care and anxiety clouded his brow; sighs frequently arose; his step became slow and meas-

ured. He had taken great delight in tournaments, which gratified his taste for magnificence and his prowess in arms. All were now forbidden ; and he was usually seen poring over musty parchments, with hose ungartered and head unkempt.

Henry the Eighth had deviated from the austerity of his father's court. He emulated the romantic gallantry of Francis, the French monarch ; but it was uncongenial to him, and often his violence and impetuosity broke forth, even in the presence of the fair ladies of his court, whom he most wished to please. This change from a gay and dissipated course of amusements excited much surprise and conjecture.

At length he announced the cause, — deep-seated scruples of conscience were preying upon his health ; he had, after much investigation and study, fully convinced himself, that his union with Catharine, who had been betrothed to his brother Arthur, and whom he had married as the widow of that prince, was sinning against the laws of God. He had collected many passages of Scripture to prove the unholiness of the union, which he said was fully demonstrated by their having no male heir to the throne, the Princess Mary being their only surviving child.

What must have been Catharine's sensations when these scruples were announced to her ; she who had been his wife for nearly twenty years !

Her suspicions rested immediately on Wolsey, as the instigator of this new-born tenderness of conscience. Probably she accused him wrongfully, and might better have attributed the whole to the caprice of Henry's character. It must be acknowledged, that the subject had been discussed by learned prelates previously to the marriage. However little inclined Wolsey was to the Queen, there seems to have been no adequate motive for thus stirring up his master's conscience.

About this time, or perhaps a little before it, Henry met with Anne Boleyn, the accomplished daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn. She had been educated in France, and, on her return to England, became maid of honor to the Queen. The winning graces of this lady were heightened by the polish of a French education, which was altogether opposed to the English. Women in England of high rank were usually educated in nunneries. They were taught enough of reading for religious exercises, but confectionery, needlework, and, what is somewhat surprising, physic and surgery, came under the head of female accomplishments.* When removed from these seminaries to the houses of their parents, daughters were placed standing at the table, where they ate their dinners like statues, and were not per-

* This is proved by a tract written in the last century, in the "Antiq. Repertory."

mitted to sit, though a cushion was usually placed before them, on which they were at liberty to kneel. It is said, that, even in Sully's time, this austerity was prevalent in France, and that he used to enjoy rural happiness on a bench in his garden, just large enough for himself, while his family stood uncovered, facing him.*

Anne Boleyn's natural vivacity had broken through the restraints of the time. Henry, attracted by her beauty, approached and accosted her at a tournament, with visor down, and masked, and requested leave to wear her scarf of silver tissue. Being, or pretending to be, unconscious that the *King* addressed her, she playfully replied ; "Nay, Sir Knight ; do not venture ; it was given me by a magician, and whoever wears it, becomes my slave for life."

"That, I am, already ;" said the gallant monarch ; and, forgetting his assumed character, reached forth his hand to take it, with royal impunity.

Anne hastily retreated, saying ; "Nay, Sir Knight ; were it the King himself, he takes it not by force."

Henry, unable to restrain his impetuosity, drew off his mask. Anne, gently sinking on one knee, disengaged the silver tissue from her neck, and threw it over the arm of the King.

* This stone bench is preserved at Rosny.

There is no doubt but his scruples of conscience were greatly increased by the charms of Anne, blooming in youthful beauty. Catharine had never been handsome or fascinating. Time had passed heavily over her countenance. She had nothing to plead but her faithful and untiring love, her loyal devotion to his interest. For nearly twenty years she had borne his wanderings without reproach ; she was the mother of his children, and her heart was bound up in the one that Heaven had still spared to them. For a time, she resisted the idea that he could separate himself from her ; that he could attach a stigma to her name, and proclaim his child illegitimate. But the unwelcome truth was at last forced upon her.

Henry now openly solicited the opinions of the most eminent canonists and divines. He composed treatises himself on the subject, and continued to make proselytes. With the nation at large his cause was unpopular. A queen is known to her subjects. The virtues of Catharine were calculated to awaken the interest of the people ; her cause was warmly espoused, and, as Wolsey in all other things had been the director of Henry's conscience, it was naturally supposed he was so in this ; and their hatred towards the haughty and domineering Cardinal was greatly increased. It is said, however, that, when he first announced

his intention to Wolsey of marrying Anne Boleyn, the minister received the information with grief and dismay.

"I beseech your Majesty," said he, falling upon his knees, "to remember the disparity of her birth. I confess to you, that I have given hopes, that, when the divorce is accomplished, you will place the crown upon the head of a French princess, and thereby secure the King of France for a warm ally. Let this Syren retire from the court, and do not bring upon yourself the disgrace that will follow."

"Ha! is it so?" exclaimed Henry; "by my kingdom, the loons are right; this man will be king."

Wolsey, startled at the anger of his master, and aware that on this point he brooked no opposition, changed his tone at once, and, as if overcome by sudden conviction, promised to afford all his aid to the royal cause. To prove his zeal, he suggested to Henry the propriety of giving a magnificent entertainment at Greenwich, nominally in honor of foreign ambassadors, but in reality to facilitate his suit with Anne. The Queen was splendidly dressed; but her diamonds covered an aching heart. A spectator of the scene has left his testimony of the effect produced on himself by the females. "They seemed to all men to be rather celestial angels, descended from heaven,

than flesh and bone. Surely to me, simple soul, it was inestimable." *

Anne was dressed with great simplicity ; her beautiful hair braided and fastened with ribbands. She won many hearts, hitherto rebellious, by her modest deportment. Three hundred lances were broken before supper ; in the evening, the company withdrew to the ball-room, where they were entertained with an oration and songs, a fight at barriers, and the dancing of maskers. About midnight, the King, with six others, retired and dressed themselves as Venetian noblemen, and returned and selected ladies for the dance. Anne Boleyn was Henry's partner.

It may not be uninteresting to describe the dresses of the King and Queen Catharine, as given by an historian of the day at their coronation.

" His grace wared in his upperst apparels a robe of crimsyn velvet, furred with armyns ; his jacket or cote of raised gold ; the placard embroidered with diamonds, rubies, emeraudes, greate pearles, and other riche stones ; a greate bauderike (collar) aboute his necke, of large balasses (rubies).

" The Quene was appareled in white satyn embrodered ; her hair hangyng down to her backe, of a very greate lengthe, bewtefull and

* Cavendish.

goodly to behold, and on her hedde a coronall, set with many riche Orient stones."

Alas ! poor Catharine ! she then little thought that the superb coronal was, during her lifetime, to be placed on the head of another.

In the reign of Henry the Eighth, great progress had been made in the fashion of dress. During the reign of Henry the Seventh, it was grotesque and fantastic, and is thus described by the same historian.

"Over the breeches was worn a petticoat ; the doublet was laced like the stays of a woman, across a stomacher, and a gown or mantle with wide sleeves descended over the doublet and petticoat down to the ancles. Commoners were satisfied, instead of a gown, with a frock or tunic, shaped like a shirt, gathered at the middle, and fastened round the loins by a girdle, from which a short dagger was generally suspended. But the petticoat was rejected after the accession of Henry the Eighth, and trousers or tight garments that displayed the symmetry of the limbs, were revived, and the length of the doublet and mantle diminished. The fashions which the great have discarded are often retained by the lower orders, and the form of the tunic, or Saxon garment, may be still discovered in the wagoner's frock ; of the *trause*, and perhaps of the petticoat, in the different trousers that are worn by seamen. These

habits were again diversified by minute decorations and changes of fashion. From an opinion that corpulence contributes to dignity, the doublet was puckered and distended around the body ; and the sleeves were swelled into large ruffs. The doublet and breeches were sometimes slashed, and, with the addition of a short cloak and a stiffened cap, resembled the national dress of the Spaniards. Among gentlemen, long hair was fashionable, till Henry cut off his own, and ordered his courtiers to 'poll their heads.' He also made sumptuary laws, to regulate the inordinate dress of his subjects. Cloth of gold or tissue was reserved for dukes and marquises ; if of a purple color, for the royal family. Silks and velvets were restricted to commoners of wealth and distinction ; but embroidery was interdicted from all beneath the degree of an earl. Instead of pockets, a loose pouch was worn at the girdle."

CHAPTER II.

WOLSEY afterwards gave an entertainment to the ambassadors. "The company were summoned by a trumpet to supper, and the courses were announced by a prelude of music. The second course contained upwards of a hundred devices of subtilties ; castles, churches, animals, warriors jousting on foot and on horseback ; others dancing with ladies ; all as well counterfeited as the painter should have painted on a cloth or wall."

Such entertainments were not of short duration ; the dinner hour was eleven in the forenoon, the supper six in the evening ; but the dinner was often prolonged till supper, and that protracted till late at night. Breakfast consisted of brawn, jellies, sweetmeats, ale, brandy, and spiced wine. Wolsey dined with a state that even the nobility did not assume. His table was elevated fifteen steps at the upper end of the hall, and, in serving his dinner, the monks at every fifth step sung a hymn. He sat at the middle of the table, to the ends of which his guests of distinguished rank were admitted ; and the monks, after their

attendance was over, sat down to tables at the sides of the hall, and were served with similar respect by the novices.

When we hear of kings and emperors, we naturally attach something of the luxury of the present times to our idea of their style of living. If we go back, however, to ancient records, royalty is stripped of its pageantry. Margaret, on her marriage with James the Fourth, made her public entry into Edinburgh, riding behind her consort on a pillion. Hampton Court, which was built by Wolsey, and presented to Henry the Eighth, affords no description of elegant furniture. Henry's chamber would, in the present day, have strangely contrasted with our common sleeping-rooms. We do not read of any carpet. Probably the floor was strewed with *clean* rushes; and these were a luxury, if we take Erasmus's description of English habits. He says; "Their floors are composed of clay, and covered with sand or rushes, foul and loathsome;" and he even goes so far as to attribute the visitations of the plague to this cause. A bed, a cupboard, a joint-stool, a small mirror, and a large pair of andirons, were the only furniture of the regal apartment.

When we are told of Henry's love of chivalry, of his jousts and tournaments, we must not associate with his habits or manners the romantic

gallantry of the troubadours, or even of his contemporary Francis. The fair sex were not invested by his imagination with spiritual beauty. He considered them as born for his amusement and pleasure. Even when aiming at the character of a *preux chevalier*, he could not control the impetuosity of his temper. A slight opposition to his royal wishes stripped him of his assumed disguise, and discovered at once that he considered the lady of his homage in no other light than the creature of his will. Who at this crisis does not tremble for Anne Boleyn. Educated among a nation whose morals were essentially defective, full of natural gayety, conscious of her charms, and concealing in her heart that ambition and that love of splendor which are fatal to the truth and tenderness of the female character, she had, however, one safeguard remaining. She was attached to Percy; and it was necessary that the tyranny of the King should be exerted to prevent their intercourse. The parents were compelled to oppose the union; and, when Percy married another, in compliance with his father's commands, Anne lost the security she had derived from virtuous affection.

There cannot be a more melancholy picture to contemplate, than the history of this winning and thoughtless girl. Had Henry found no other agents for his cause than his fascinations,

either of mind or person, she would have trod the mazes of a court with a firm and dignified step ; but, in her own secret ambition, he discovered an effectual promoter of his wishes. When we find such encomiums as the following passed upon her by her advocates, we cannot but fear, that she at once understood and favored the suit of the King.

“ He liked to try of what temper the regard of her honor was, which, he finding not any way to be tainted with those things his kingly majestie and means could bring to the batterie, he in the end fell to win her by treaty of marriage ; and in this talk took from her a ring and that ware upon his littel finger ; yet al this with such a secrecie was carried, and on her part so wisely, as none or verie few esteemed this other than an ordinarie course of dalliance.”

Letters from the King, written in French, to Anne Boleyn, were stolen from her, and conveyed to the Vatican at Rome. Copies of them were procured by Bishop Burnet afterwards, and have been translated and published.*

Anne professed to be displeased with the attentions of the monarch. It was asserted, that “ she stood stil upon her guard, and was not easily taken with all this aparance of happiness : whereof two things appeared to be the causes ; the one,

* Appendix to Burnet's "History of the Reformation."

the love she bore ever to the Queen, whom she served, that was also a personage of greate virtue ; the other, her conceit, that this was not that freedom of conjunction with one that was her lord and king, as with one more agreeable to her."

The rumor of Henry's intended divorce must have early reached her ear ; and, if she aspired to the throne, she must have been sensible, that she could only obtain it, by the total ruin of Catharine's happiness. To resist the royal suit, however, seems to have been beyond her moral strength. Nor can we be surprised, when we reflect that "images of splendor and greatness were the objects first presented to her infant eyes ; and it was one of the earliest lessons imprinted on her mind, that they could scarcely be obtained at too dear a price."

Catharine soon perceived the secret intelligence between her husband and Anne. Her observation, when she was playing at cards with the young beauty, has been recorded. It was a rule in the play to stop on turning up a king or queen. It came to Anne's luck often to stop at a king, upon which the Queen said, somewhat pointedly ; "My lady Anne, you have good luck to stop at a king ; but you are not like others ; you will have *all* or *none*."

The time soon arrived when the unhappy queen could no longer be ignorant or doubtful ;

yet she seems to have conducted towards her rival with gentleness and dignity.

Wolsey was placed in a most perplexing dilemma. Ignorant, at first, of the King's desire to seat Anne upon the throne, and supposing the pleasure he took in her society was merely a light affair of dalliance, he prepared great banquets and high feasts, to entertain the King with her at his own house. Catharine could not but be informed of the Cardinal's subserviency to his master's wishes, and her dislike towards him was greatly heightened by this conduct. Anne for a time seems to have considered him her warm friend ; and copies of her letters to him are still extant, in which such expressions as the following are frequently interspersed ; " And next unto the King's grace, of one thing I make you full promise to be assured to have it, and that is, my hearty love unfeignedly during my life."

When the King first communicated his intention of raising Anne to the throne, the Cardinal received the intelligence with evident dismay. Her disposition to favor the Lutheran cause was openly avowed. She had sometimes seriously, and sometimes playfully, argued with the King against the mother church. Wolsey's pride, too, was incensed at the idea of acknowledging for his royal mistress, one whom he considered as in an inferior station ; yet he too well knew

his master's humor to venture any open opposition.

By his activity in procuring the divorce, he had felt entitled to be consulted about another alliance. Henry was too determined, or too wary, to trust him with his secret, and Wolsey found, that, while he had been promoting what he considered an affair of gallantry, he had, in reality, been elevating Anne to the throne.

There is one circumstance which cannot be omitted, as it had a tendency to increase Wolsey's aversion to the marriage. Anne was constantly in the habit of reading heretical books, which had been proscribed by Cardinal Wolsey, and she usually marked those passages that most excited her admiration. These were generally opposed to the Catholic persuasion. A book, thus marked, was purloined from her apartment and carried to Wolsey. He, now believing the ruin of the young heretic certain, delivered it in triumph to Henry. So far from expressing indignation, the King not only pardoned her, but consented to look over the book with her.

The delay, which the Pope threw in the way of the divorce, is well known. When he could no longer protract his interference, he despatched Cardinal Campeggio to the English court, and at length the King and Queen were summoned, and the trial commenced. Part of the noble speech

of the Queen is faithfully given by the immortal bard, and too well known to need a repetition ; but she goes on to say ;

“ The King, your father, was a man of such an excellent wit in his time, that he was recounted a second Solomon ; and the King of Spain, my father, Ferdinand, was taken for one of the wisest kings that reigned in Spain these many years. So they were both wise men and noble princes ; and it is no question but they had wise counsellors of either realm, as be now at this day, who thought not, at the marriage of you and me, to hear what new devices are now invented against me, to stand to the order of this court. And I conceive you do me much wrong ; nay, you condemn me for not answering, having no counsel but such as you have assigned me ; you must consider that they cannot be indifferent on my part, being your own subjects, and such as you have made choice of out of your own Council, whereunto they are privy, and dare not disclose your pleasure.”

It is well known, that, after she had made her protest, she left the court ; and, though summoned to return, positively refused.

The testimony Henry gave to her character, after her departure, seems to have been called forth by the dignity of her demeanor. “ She hath been always a true and obedient wife.”

The appeal made by the King to the Pope

was highly embarrassing to him. Catharine was aunt to the Emperor, Charles the Fifth, whom he greatly feared to offend. Of Henry, too, who had obtained from Leo the title of "Defender of the Faith," he stood almost equally in awe. His only resource was to procrastinate and place obstacles in the way.

Cardinal Campeggio, after his arrival in England, used many arguments to persuade the King to renounce his intentions. At this attempt, Henry was greatly enraged, and said, it was evident that the Pope had sent him to confirm, rather than annul, his marriage. Campeggio then showed him a bull, in which the Pope had granted the divorce, if matters could not be brought to a friendly conclusion. This bull, however, he acknowledged, was only to be shown to the King and Wolsey, and not to be trusted out of his own hands. He entreated the King not to be precipitate in the affair, as great advantages might be taken from that, by the Queen's party; that, therefore, it was fit to proceed slowly; but he assured him, that the decision would finally be according to his wishes.

At length, after many adjournments, the court sat to decide the matter, and Gardiner, who was the head of the King's Council, desired sentence might be given. Both the King and Anne Boleyn were sanguine, at this crisis, that no further obstacles would be made to their union; and

Henry stationed himself in an adjoining room, where he could have the pleasure of hearing the sentence pronounced. What was his indignation, when Campeggio declared, that the court must be adjourned till October, (it was then July,) as no causes could be heard in vacation time, according to the rules of the Consistory of Rome.

It soon became evident that Wolsey was losing confidence and favor with the King, who suspected that much of this delay arose from his ill offices. It does not appear that he had any cause for this suspicion ; but, unfortunately for the Cardinal, with all the deception he had practised, he was not able to counterfeit upright and undeviating principle ; and neither the monarch nor the favorite could have had much confidence in, or respect for, the other. Seven months had passed since Campeggio's arrival, and Henry found himself no nearer obtaining a divorce, than when he first arrived. Yet his passion for Anne did not decline on account of the obstacles placed in his path. He took the decisive step of dismissing Catharine to Greenwich, and sent for Anne to return to the Court. She had judiciously withdrawn to her father's house. It was said, that she returned with reluctance, and only yielded to the entreaties of her father. Henry gave her a splendid establishment, and apartments richly furnished, and exacted the utmost deference towards her from his courtiers.

CHAPTER III.

WHILE not only England, but Europe, was agitated by this important question of the divorce, a minor affair took place in Jesus College, Cambridge, which excited some attention.

Thomas Cranmer, a young man of ancient family, a fellow of the College, forfeited his fellowship by his marriage. Though only twenty-three, he had distinguished himself by his talents, and was much esteemed for the virtues of his character. His separation from the College, which became necessary according to the regulations, was greatly regretted by the friends of learning.

The early education of Cranmer had inured him to discipline. The most approved school in the neighbourhood was held by the parish-clerk, whose manners naturally partook of the rudeness and barbarity of the age. To this the boy was sent. Though his disposition was mild, and his habits studious, he could not escape the tyrannical and domineering cruelty of the pedagogue. His father, however, did not confine him to the instruction of the school-master, but had him edu-

cated in gentlemanly exercises, shooting, hunting, and hawking. He was also skilled in horsemanship ; and, in mature life, when his dignities and honors crowded upon him, he still retained his fondness for shooting with the cross-bow, and his skill and fearlessness in managing the wildest horses. He lost his father early, and, at fourteen, his mother sent him to study at Cambridge, in the year 1503.

In reading the history of distinguished men, maternal influence is often traced. A widowed mother, who consummates her early lessons by giving up her only son, her solace and her joy, for his advantage, and, perhaps, toils to supply the means for his education, unaided and alone, not only affords him the best example of disinterestedness, but the strongest incitement to virtue and improvement. Cranmer appears to have determined to turn to their best uses the opportunities offered to him ; and, though he was immediately initiated in the "dark riddles" of the age, his own good sense led him at length to a different course of study. Erasmus was a resident in the University, and Cranmer soon became familiar with the works of this accomplished scholar. A new impulse was given to his mind. He entered the walks of ancient and classic literature, and made himself master of the Greek and Hebrew languages. When Cranmer began to write,

he earnestly studied his books, and "bent himself to try out the truth herein." He read with his pen in hand, and constantly marked, or copied out, what particularly arrested his attention. The intellectual treasures, which he in this way acquired, were in after life an exhaustless mine of wealth.

Such a young man could not fail of being esteemed ; and, when his marriage, at the age of twenty-three, obliged him to relinquish his fellowship in the College, it was deeply regretted. He was solicited, however, to fill a humbler place in Buckingham College. Of his marriage, there is little recorded. The early death of his wife, the same year they were married, left him a widower, and, contrary to general usage, he was again elected a fellow of his College.

When Wolsey was selecting men of talents and learning for his College at Oxford,* he offered Cranmer a fellowship ; but Cranmer declined it, and preferred remaining where he was.

It was about this time that the King, seeking to beguile the weariness which arose from the postponement of his marriage with Anne Boleyn, made several excursions to the country-seats of his courtiers. At Mr. Cressy's, in Waltham, a town where the King rested, Cranmer was then residing with two of that gentleman's sons ; they

* Wolsey founded Christ Church College.

were driven from the College by an infectious disorder. Among Henry's attendants, were Fox, the royal almoner, and, subsequently, Bishop of Hereford, and Gardiner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, who lodged at Mr. Cressy's. They, knowing Cranmer's fame for learning, requested his opinion of the divorce. He at once declared that he considered the marriage contrary to the laws of God. "The method," said Cranmer, "to be pursued, seems to me a simple one, and would bring the matter to an issue." They all eagerly inquired what he meant. "It is," replied he, "to collect the opinions of all the universities in Europe on this one question; 'Is it lawful to marry a brother's wife?' Their approbation of the marriage will satisfy the King's scruples; or their disapprobation will bring the Pope to a decision."

When Henry was informed of Cranmer's opinion, he was struck with the proposal and exclaimed, as it is said Elizabeth did many years afterwards to one of the Spanish ambassadors; "In truth, he 'has got the right sow by the ear.'"

Cranmer was immediately summoned to the presence of the King, and, after a long conversation, being well convinced that the learned doctor favored his views, he commanded him to put his sentiments in writing.

"There is one simple question," said Cranmer, "on which the whole rests. It is not, Sire,

whether the Pope's dispensation, which permitted you to marry the widow of your brother, was legal, or could give legality to the marriage, but simply whether such a marriage was not contrary to the divine commands."

Henry resolved to adopt his plan, of consulting divines ; and, determining to retain him counselor in his service, placed him in the family of Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire, the father of Anne. This was undoubtedly a stroke of policy in the monarch. He was aware, that Cranmer would be in the way of receiving impressions favorable to his cause, as the family of the Earl would be highly advanced by the King's marriage with Anne Boleyn.

The Earl of Wiltshire ranked high in the estimation of his countrymen. Erasmus knew him well, and spoke of him as a philosopher, a scholar, and well read in the Scriptures. He thus wrote to him ; " I do the more congratulate your happiness, when I observe the sacred Scriptures to be so dear to a man, as you are, of power, one of the laity and a courtier, and that you have such a desire to that pearl of price."

Between the Earl and Erasmus there was a strong friendship. " The world is beholden to this noble peer for some of the labors that proceeded from the pen of that most learned man," particularly " Directions how to prepare for Death."

During Cranmer's residence in this family, the powers of his mind and the social qualities of his disposition were fully called forth. With the Countess and Lady Anne he had a pleasant and easy intercourse ; with the Earl, serious and long conferences on important matters. When the Earl was absent, they corresponded together. In a letter from Cranmer, dated at Hampton Court, in the month of June, 1530, he wrote to the Earl, that "The King's Grace, my Lady his wife, my Lady Anne his daughter, were in good health ; and that the King and my Lady Anne rode the day before to Windsor, from Hampton Court, and that night they were looked for again there ; praying God to be their guide."

Can we judge Anne harshly when we find such a man as Cranmer promoting the unrighteous cause ? She had listened to him with reverence on religious subjects, and imbibed the spirit of the speaker. Probably if any twinges of conscience had hitherto admonished her when she thought of her gracious mistress and Queen, they were now silenced.

Cranmer wrote his book, and was appointed to dispute with certain learned men on the subject of the divorce in both of the Universities. By his learning and authority he brought over many to his opinion, and Henry determined to send him on an embassy to Germany. To give the dignity

of high rank to this embassy, he united with him the Earl of Wiltshire.

With some difficulty, an answer had been procured from Oxford and Cambridge in favor of the divorce. The decisions of the Italian and French universities had also been obtained to the same effect. The opinion of Erasmus was, with his usual caution, withheld, and he would not commit himself by any written documents or public avowal. The German reformers were ready to allow, that the Pope had no power to authorize a marriage contracted in opposition to the will of God, but they could not entirely agree that this marriage came within that description; and Luther, when applied to, boldly said, he "would sooner allow a man two wives, than to repudiate one with whom he had lived in the holy bonds of matrimony for twenty years."

In the year 1530, Dr. Cranmer began his embassy in company with the Earl of Wiltshire, a man well known abroad, and already doubly conspicuous as the father of Anne Boleyn, whose name was now often coupled with the King's. They first directed their course to Italy, and had several interviews with the Pope.* At

* We cannot resist giving the following amusing extract from Fox, in describing the admittance of the ambassadors to the Pope.

"And when the time came that they should come be-

Rome, Cranmer remained several months, while the Earl and others repaired to the Emperor Charles the Fifth.

Though hitherto Cranmer had led the life of a schoolman, he seems to have had incipient qualities of a courtier. His deportment in his embassy was affable and dignified, nor did he neglect

fore the Pope, he was sitting on high, in his cloth of estate, and in his rich apparell, with his sandales on his feete, offering, as it were, his foote to be kissed of the ambassadors; the Earle of Wiltshire, disdaining thereat, stood still, and made no countenance thereunto, so that all the rest kept themselves from that idolatrie.

“Howbeit, one thing is not here to bee omitted as a prognosticate of our separation from the See of Rome, which then chanced, by a spaniell of the Earl of Wiltshire. . . . When the sayd Bishop of Rome had advanced forth his foote to be kissed, now whether the spaniell perceived the Bishop’s foote of another nature than it ought to be, and so taking it for some kinde of repast, or whether it was the will of God to show him some token by a dogge of his inordinate pride, that his feete were more mete to be bitten by dogges than kissed of Christian men; the spaniell (I say) when the Bishop extended his foote to be kissed, the dogge straightway went to his foote, and, as some affirmeth, took his greate toe in his mouth. So that in haste he pulled in his glorious feete from the spaniell and after that thought no more at that present for kissing his feete, but without anie further ceremonie gave eare to the ambassadours what they had to say.” — *The Life, Acts, and Story of Dr. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

the more minute means of pleasing. He was found to possess wit without sarcasm, a happy manner of inculcating morality and thought, and so won upon all who associated with him, that the Earl of Wiltshire, who returned to England while Cranmer remained at Rome, informed Henry, he could find no ambassador more accomplished for his purposes. The King, in consequence of these representations, sent him a commission with instructions to be his sole ambassador to the Emperor. The commissional letters were dated January 24th, 1531 ; in these he styles Dr. Cranmer "*Consiliarius Regius, et ad Cæsarem Orator.*"

We now behold him in his new office, distinguished by the favor of a monarch who had been considered as holding the balance of Europe, gifted in himself with excellent personal advantages of manners, qualified to hold conferences with the most learned men of the age, and actually converting them to his own view of the cause he had undertaken. The most important convert was Cornelius Agrippa, counsellor to the Emperor. The melancholy fate of this man was probably the result of his imprudence as much as his honesty, as he exasperated the Emperor by his gratuitous opposition to his wishes. He was cast into prison and died there.

With Osiander, the pastor of Nuremberg, he

formed a strict intimacy ; and, at his earnest request, passed much time with him. Their constant interchange of sentiments seemed to result in a union of opinion. Osiander became a convert to Cranmer's view of the King's marriage, and actually wrote a book proving it unlawful. Osiander was engaged in a work upon the Gospels ; Cranmer earnestly exhorted him to go on with it, and assured him, that " it would not only be of use to the Church of Christ, but adorn it." It was published in 1537, and dedicated to Cranmer.

In the frequent intercourse which existed between these two learned men, the study was usually the place of their meeting and conversation. From this apartment, Osiander's family were not wholly excluded. His young niece was often a silent listener ; and, when they repaired to the little parlour, she it was that performed the household duties for the guests of her uncle.

Hitherto Cranmer had taken no decisive steps in espousing the reformed religion ; but the arguments of Osiander came seasonably to the aid of his own mind. In setting up the authority of learned divines as equal to that of the Pope, by his advice to Henry, he sufficiently proved, that his views were not to be confined within the strict enclosure of the mother church ; but the time had now arrived when he was absolutely to defy

it, to break through its essential rules, and stand on the same ground as Luther. It would be uncandid to ascribe any undue influence over his opinions to the little German maiden ; for it was evident, that his views, previously to leaving England, had been greatly changed. His intercourse with German Protestants had facilitated this change, and, perhaps, we may venture to allow to the niece of Osiander the power of investing him with sufficient resolution to virtually abjure the right of the Pope in imposing on the clergy any obligation to celibacy. However this may be, she became his second wife early in the following year.

We pause here for a moment, as it appears to be the first developement of Cranmer's character.

He had been sent on an embassy by the King, which was considered highly important. It was his purpose, and had been his desire, to win all hearts to the royal cause. By a step like this, he outraged the Catholics, and spent much of his time in the "primrose path of dalliance." It does not appear, however, that Henry felt any dissatisfaction with his ambassador when he returned to England. That he himself did not consider the step he had taken a judicious one was proved by his leaving his wife in Germany.

It was highly honorable to the Protestants at this time, that they threw aside all party feelings,

and warmly espoused the cause of Catharine. They were loud in expressions of indignation at the wrongs of an injured and faithful wife ; and the German reformers who had defied the Pope and the Emperor, now enlisted under their banners in defence of an insulted and broken-hearted woman. There cannot, however, be any doubt, that Cranmer embraced the cause of the King in the full conviction that it was a righteous one. He had been far from obtruding his opinion, and shrunk from the office of ambassador, which the King forced upon him. But, when once engaged in the cause, it was natural that it should assume magnitude in his view. He believed that the future salvation of the King and Queen was deeply perilled by living together in a state that he considered unholy ; and, in endeavouring to dissolve the union, he lost sight of the sufferings of the wife, and the rights of the daughter. He probably, too, considered, that the manner, in which this question was settled, would have an important influence on the future religion of the country ; and his mind had embraced too fully the views of the reformers, to submit to the infallibility of the Pope. In his conversations with Osiander, he had sometimes quoted the Fathers, St. Austin, St. Jerome, and his master's favorite, Thomas Aquinas. " Tell me not," said the German, " of the heroes of the dark

ages. Go to Peter, and Paul, and the great teacher of Christianity. Open your Bible, and find there your religion." All this corresponded with his early pursuits. His mind had been awakened, by the study of the Scriptures, years before, and he was well prepared to enter the lists of reform.

There is an immeasurable distance, however, between Luther and the English reformer. Luther, goaded on by his conscience, and aided only by the light of his own mind, seizing upon truth after truth, fighting for his cause against nations, and achieving the victory by the prowess of a single arm, is a phenomenon that he explained ; — " God is on my side."

Cranmer was naturally diffident and cautious, and he appears to have wanted one of the essential components of Luther's character, enthusiasm. A life of tranquil duty and calm retirement was all he coveted ; but this cannot be allowed to the favorite of a king, and such he was rapidly becoming.

On his return, he was offered the See of Canterbury. This promotion he would gladly have declined. The turbulence of the times rendered the primacy an arduous and perhaps dangerous situation. The state of matrimony, into which he had secretly entered, was wholly opposed to the religious views of his still Roman Catholic country.

Another motive powerfully influenced him. It was necessary, in receiving the primacy, that he should take the oath of fidelity to the Pope. All these were, in his mind, insuperable obstacles. The King, however, did not consider them so. The oath was modified in a manner, that saved the conscience of the new archbishop, and concluded with an open protest, that he felt himself bound, on all occasions, to oppose the Pope's illegal authority, and condemn his errors.

Cranmer took possession of the primacy in 1533, and secretly sent for his wife.

While these events had been passing, Wolsey's sun had set to rise no more. Henry had cast him off; and, though, for a time, habit, or some remains of kindly affections, induced him to show signs of returning favor, the Cardinal felt too surely, that, in proportion to Anne's ascendancy, had been his own decline.

" All my glories

In that one woman I have lost for ever."

Such was the favorite's impression; but when was a league of pleasure permanent? Wolsey was no longer of service to the King; he could neither administer to his passions nor his interest; and, as his views changed, and he lost his reverence for the ancient faith, his ear opened willingly to the tale of his misdeeds. Wolsey's worst crimes appear to have been, his subserviency to a

heartless monarch ; his greatest offence to the people, his haughty and overweening pride and ambition. When arrested for high treason, it is said, that he discovered no signs of guilt, and only asked to be confronted with his accusers. On his way, he was seized with illness, and could only reach a monastery ; as he entered the gate, he said to the Abbot, " Father Abbot, I am come hither to lay my bones among you." His indisposition rapidly increased, but he was calm and resigned. He had previously passed through many stages of hope and fear, sometimes humbling himself to the dust, and then, again, was suddenly elated by the slightest symptom of royal favor ; but the storm and the whirlwind had passed, and the still, small voice of conscience was whispering its admonitions in his ear,

" Had I but served my God with half the zeal
I served the King, he would not in mine age
Have left me naked to mine enemies."

He expired the next morning, in the sixtieth year of his age.

In reading the history of Wolsey, as penned by Catholics and Protestants, we must use our own judgment. It is probable, that there is exaggeration on both sides ; that he had neither the virtues attributed to him by the one, nor the vices so liberally ascribed to him by the other. It does not appear that either Catharine of Aragon or Anne

Boleyn influenced his fate. In the capricious and selfish character of the monarch, and in the restlessness of his own pride and ambition, were deeply planted the seeds of his ruin. Though it was evidently Wolsey's desire to establish the ecclesiastical supremacy, and restore the omnipotence of the Pope, he seems, even in this thing, to have been looking forward to his own elevation, and to the dream of his days and nights, the chair of St. Peter ; for himself, he wished to hedge it round with colleges and institutions.

Gardiner, the defendant and confidant of Wolsey, was not, as many expected, involved in his disgrace. His fidelity to him seems to have been unquestioned. This man possessed an uncommon degree of penetration, a thorough knowledge of human nature in its weakest and worst forms, a capacity of accommodating himself to all characters, and an instinctive perception of what would aid or retard his own advancement. He ventured on a game that rarely succeeds with the most artful ; that of allegiance to the Pope and to the King, both now bitter enemies. Though in his heart opposed to the Reformation, he promoted Anne's marriage, who, he knew, was a zealous advocate for it. But he trusted to his own powers for making all subservient to his interest. Cromwell was another of Wolsey's adherents, and undertook his defence in Parliament. He was

secretary to the Cardinal, and originally the son of a blacksmith. He won the favor of Henry, by the earnestness with which he seconded his marriage with Anne.

In the office of Chancellor, Wolsey was succeeded by Sir Thomas More. His sanguinary measures must ever cast a shadow over his excellent gifts and high qualities. We must not forget, that the religion of that period seems to have partaken but little of the spirit of its great founder. The flaming sword guarded its precincts, and both Catholics and Protestants sacrificed their victims upon its altars.

CHAPTER IV.

VERY soon after his consecration, the Primate was called upon by Henry to pronounce the divorce. Cranmer had been too deeply engaged in the matter to feel any reluctance to utter this final decision. We are willing to believe that history, rather than his own heart, was silent on the subject of humanity.

But it is to be feared, that his conviction of the unholiness of the marriage, his desire of defeating the tyranny of the Pope and taking vigorous measures against the Church of Rome, added to his paternal affection for Anne, who had long honored, respected, and imbibed his opinions, and who, he had every reason to believe, would prove a powerful agent in the reform he was desirous of promoting ; — that all these considerations acted powerfully on his feelings, and absorbed all tenderness and compassion for the unfortunate Queen. It is difficult for us to imagine, that a good and pious man should have taken the decided part he did in this matter ; but we are often disappointed in Cranmer's character ; he seems sometimes to have yielded to the urgency or impulse

of the moment, with a want of resolution that was a melancholy augury of the future.

To give to Anne the dignity of a title was Henry's next object ; and he determined, in defiance of all established rules, to create her Marchioness of Pembroke. This was done with much pomp and ceremony. " She wore a circote of cloth of gold, richly trimmed with crimson, and on her head had no other coif or head geer than her own braided hair. The King, with his royal hands placed on her head the halfe coronet, and the Lady Mary Howard threw over her shoulders the ermine mantle, white as snowe. When thus equipped, she was most beautifull to behold ; and some of the Papistes sayd, if it were only for looks and comeliness, she was worthy to be Queene. The King could not be satisfied with gazing upon her."

Those who have seen the picture of Anne will easily credit this account. There is a mixture of playfulness and dignity mingled in her expression, that must have been truly captivating. She had now nearly reached the zenith of her ambition ; the coronet, she was well aware, would soon be exchanged for a royal diadem ; and we may without difficulty imagine, that the bloom of her cheek, and the lustre of her eye, had acquired fresh brilliancy as she saw it hovering over her.

The playfulness and freedom of her manner was, at this time, one of her great charms in the eyes of the capricious monarch.

The superb set of jewels sent to Anne by the King on this occasion, is thus recorded in Strype's Appendix to his "Memorials." We give it in the ancient text.

"Furste, One Carkeyne of gold antique warke, having a shielde of gold, set with a great Rose, containing xij Dyamants. One fayer table Dyamant. One poynted Dyamant. One table Rubye. One table Emerawde. And iij fayer hinging perles.

"*Item*, Another Carkeyne of golde of harts with ij hands holding a great owche of golde, set with a great table balasse. One poynted dyamant. Two table dyamants : Whereof one rising with Lozanges, and the other flat. And one other long lozanged dyamant. And iiij perles, with one longe perle pendaunt.

"*Item*, Another Carkeyne of golde enameled with blac and white, with an owche of golde enameled white and blew : Set with a great rockey Rubye : One rockey Emerawde : One pointed Dyamant : one table Dyamant. A harte of a Dyamant, rising ful of Lozanges. And one fayer hinging perle.

"*Item*, Another Carkeyne of lynks of gold. The one enameled blac, the other gold : having an

owche of golde, set with a great rockey balasse : Two smal table Dyamants ; and one Lozanged Dyamant. Five slight perles, and one long perle pendaunt therat.

“ *Item*, Another Carkeyne of gold, garnished thorowly with xxij coletts of dyamants, con-tening in al lxxvij diamant smal and great : and xliij perles, with an owche of antique, set with xiiij dyamants, one rockey Rubye, and one rockey Emerawde ; and a flat round hinging perle.

“ *Item*, Another Carkeyne of golde, enameled blac, with an owche, set with a fayer table balasse, and three smal tryangled dyamants, and five perles.

“ *Item*, A *George* on horse back : garnished with xvj smal Dyamants. And in the belly of the Dragon a rockey perle.

“ *Item*, Another Carkeyne of golde : al blac, having a *George* on horseback ; garnished with xvij smal Dyamants. And in the belly of the Dragon a perle ragged.

“ *Item*, A cheyne of gold, of *Spaynishe* facion, enameled, white, red, and black.”

We are aware that the above list of articles may want a glossary. The *carkeyne* is a collar ; *fayer*, fair ; *balasses*, rubies ; *Lozanges*, a figure in heraldry denoting the arms of the family.

Soon after Anne was made Marchioness of Pembroke, she was privately married to the

King, probably on the 25th of January, 1532. The ceremony was performed in the presence of the Duke of Norfolk, and her father and mother. At this time there had been no public sentence of divorce. Henry said "there was no need of one after so many Doctors and Universities had decided for it."

It became now a pressing matter that the former marriage should be declared null, and Catharine was urged to yield her acquiescence; but she positively rejected the idea, asserting that she was Queen of England, and Henry's lawful wife, and rejecting all entreaties and bribes; and, when urged to retire to a nunnery, protested that she would never take any steps that might *unqueen* herself, or render her daughter illegitimate. When it was found that nothing would shake the resolution of Catharine, and that she persisted in saying, wherever the King sent her she should still be his wife, they proceeded to the public sentence of the divorce, of which Cranmer, in a letter, gives the following account.

"As touching the final determination and concluding of the matter of divorce, between my Lady Katherine and the King's grace: and after the convocation in that behalf had determined and agreed according to the former sentence of the Universities, it was thought convenient by the King and his learned council that I should repair

to Dunstable, and there to call her before me, to hear final sentence in this said matter. Notwithstanding she would not at all obey thereunto.

“On the 9th of May, according to the said appointment, I came to Dunstable, my Lord of Lincoln being assistant to me.” (Then follows a list of counsellors for the King.) “And so there at our coming, kept a court for the appearance of the said Katherine, where we examined certain witnesses, who testified, that she was lawfully cited and called to appear, as the process of the law thereunto belongeth ; which continued fifteen days after our first coming thither. The morrow after Ascension day, I gave sentence therein, how that it was indispensable for the Pope to license any such marriage.”

Dunstable was chosen because the Queen resided at Ampthill, which was so near that she could not pretend ignorance. It appears, however, that Catharine was above all these arts. She did not answer to the citation. She had uniformly declared that she would not do it. We can hardly imagine any other course that she could with dignity have taken. There is something that deeply moves our sympathies in her conduct. She expresses no violent anger towards the King, not even when he sent Lord Mountjoy to inform her that she was a divorced princess, and instructed him to threaten her, that, in case

of her persisting in her resolution, it might be fatal to the succession of her daughter. She replied with calmness, "I will never willingly submit to such an infamy, or peril my soul by consenting to it. I am the wife of Henry the Eighth. I will never call myself by any other name, nor suffer my servants to do it."

There can be no doubt but her affections were deeply wounded. She had married Henry in his youth, and, however changed to every other eye, to hers he was the same. She had been a faithful, humble, trusting wife. What pangs must she have endured, when her resistance to Lord Mountjoy's message was followed by the information, that the King had been privately married to Anne Boleyn, for several months! Even then she does not seem to have forgotten her self-respect. She replied to the messenger, when he asked if she had any commands, "Say to the King, I shall ever remain his faithful wife."

Few die of a broken heart; but, we believe, this unhappy Queen was one of the few. The arrow had entered, and the wound was deep and incurable. She was sick,—sick to the very soul. She had given the King the best years of her life; she had meekly borne wrongs that the poorest peasant would have murmured at. She still loved him, for it is the destiny of woman to love, through ill treatment, through obloquy, and

disgrace. For three years she lingered under the gradual decay of consuming grief. But, happily for her, the vital flame burned feebly ; it flickered awhile, and then expired !

As Catharine approached her death, she requested to see her daughter, who was now twenty years old ; Henry had the cruelty to refuse. From the time of the divorce, she had been separated from her mother. And what was her last message to a faithless husband ? She wrote thus ;

“ My most dear Lord, King, and Husband : My last hour is now approaching. I would fain at this solemn moment impress upon you the importance of religious duty, and the comparative emptiness of all human grandeur and enjoyment. Though your fondness towards these perishable advantages has created much trouble to yourself, and thrown me into many calamities, I truly forgive all past injuries, and hope Heaven will forgive you as freely as I do. I have no request to make you, but commend to you our infant daughter, the sole pledge of our love, and my maids and servants.” Then, as if human affection broke through all restraint, she added, “ I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things.”

We ask not whether such a woman was a Catholic or a Protestant. We feel that she was a Christian, and all our sympathies are enlisted in her cause.

When Henry received this last proof of her long and tried affection, even he was moved, and unbidden tears fell from his eyes.

And Anne, — surely the tenderness of woman must be roused. She was the happy, the successful rival. There was nothing now to fear from indignant Catholics or just Protestants. She stood firm upon the throne, and might freely weep, and lament the sorrows of her once beloved mistress. There is surely no enmity in the grave ! The pallid cheek, the sunken eye, the closed and silent lips, the rigid form, can these awaken exultation ? Would that they could not ; but it was said, that Anne expressed a joy and triumph when she heard of Catharine's death, unbecoming the " painted shadow of a queen." It may be, that she still saw some lingering tenderness in the cold-hearted, selfish monarch, towards the wife of his youth. Such ties are only broken completely by hatred or contempt ; and neither of these emotions could Henry conjure up. Her crime was, being no longer young. Well might Luther say, " What a noble bond is formed between man and woman," when even the whirlwind of passion could not wholly destroy it. " She has been to me a most loving and faithful wife," said the monarch ; " would that my conscience would allow me to be at rest ! " alluding to her marriage with his brother. If, as Catharine sol-

emly protested, she had only been the nominal wife of Arthur, what shall we say of the odious hypocrisy of Henry.

Hitherto, we have seen in Anne's conduct little to approve ; but let us not judge her too harshly. Early sent from a mother's watchful care to the French Court, allowed to mix with the society there, to sparkle and to dazzle while almost a child, uninstructed in the ethics of our days, which, at least, inculcate the beauty and wisdom of self-discipline, her career was a thoughtless one ; and, when she returned to England, she was placed again in a court, as maid of honor to the British Queen, disappointed in a first love, and taught that loyalty and ambition must go hand in hand. Spurred on by her father, and unproved by the Archbishop who was her model of wisdom and virtue, may we not rather be surprised that her conduct was so discreet, as, in spite of calumny, it appears to have been. The King's addresses she at first received with coldness, and, more than once, retired to her father's house, and, let us hope, to the arms of a mother, whose counsels were true to nature. On this subject history is silent ; we know nothing of the domestic education of Anne. But what mother can be found who would willingly sacrifice a daughter to such a man as Henry the Eighth, at this period of his life, even though he were a monarch ? Of

her father, it is recorded, that she went back to the Court, influenced by his tears and entreaties.

The first act of the drama of Anne's life is ended ; let us proceed to the second ; and this was her coronation.

“ On Saturday, the one-and-thirtieth day of May, the Queen was conveyed through London, in order as follows.” We pass over the greater part of this description, as the curious may find it in Stowe, and select only such parts as may be interesting to all. After the long procession of nobility, passing through streets hung with tissues of gold, velvet, and other rich hangings, and “ the windows replenished with ladies and gentlemen to behold the Queene as she passed, all making a goodly shew,” came Anne, “ in a white litter of white cloth of gold, not covered or braided, which was led by two palfreys clad in white damask, down to the ground, head and all, led by her footmen ; she had on a kirtle of white cloth of tissue, and a mantle of the same furred with ermine, her hair hanging downe, but on her head she had a coif with a circlet about it full of rich stones ; over her was borne a canopy of cloth of gold, with four gilt staves, and four silver belles ; for bearing of the which canopy were appointed sixteen knights ; foure to bear it in one space on foote, and four another space, according to their own appointment. Next after the Queene, rode

the Lord Brough, her chamberlaine ; next after him, William Coffin, master of the horse, with a side-saddle trapped down with cloth of tissue ; after him rode seven ladies in crimson velvet, turned up with cloth of gold and tissue, and their horses trapped with gold." Then came innumerable pageants, " one of little children, apparelled like merchants, which welcomed her to the cittie with two proper propositions, both in French and in English. From thence she rode toward Grace Church corner, where was a costly and marvelous cunning pageant made by the merchants of the Stillyard. Therein was the Mount Parnassus with the fountain of Helicon, which was of white marble, and four streames without pipes did rise an ell high, and meet together in a little cup above the fountain, which fountain ran abundantly with rackt Reynish wine till night." Much of the same pageantry was everywhere exhibited.

" Then she went forward, and passed the great conduit in Cheape by a goodly fountain that ranne continually wyne, both white and claret, all the afternoon. The recorder came to her with low reverence, making a proper and brief proposition, and gave to her in the name of the cittie a thousand markes in golde, in a golden purse, which she thankfully accepted with many good wordes, and so rode to the conduit, where was a rich pageant of melody and songs, in which pa-

geant were Pallas, Juno, and Venus, and afore them stood Mercuries, which in the name of the three goddesses gave unto her a ball of golde divided into three, signifying three gifts which these three goddesses gave to her ; that is to say, wisdom, riches, and felicitie."

"On the first of June, Whitsunday, the Queene again appeared in procession to attend the King's Chappel. The Queene was on this day attired in a circote and robe of purple velvet furred with ermine, and her hair and coif as it was on Saturday ; her train, which was very long, was borne by the old Duchess of Norfolk. When she came to the place made for her in the midst of the church, she was set in a rich chair, where she rested awhile, then went forward to the altar, and there prostrated herself before Archbishop Cranmer. He said collects, and anointed her on the head and breast. The Archbishop sett the crown of St. Edward on her head, and then delivered her the sceptre of gold in her right hand, and the rod of ivory with the dove in her left hand, and then all the choir sung Te Deum, &c., which over, the Bishop took off the crown of St. Edward, being heavy, and set on her head the crown made for her." An account is added of the feast, of costly dishes and subtilties, &c. ; but the specimen already given of the pageantry

attending Anne's coronation is a small part of it, though probably enough for the reader.

We now behold Anne and her father in possession of all they had so long coveted. They had reached the point of human greatness. We must follow her a little further in her history, — we must see her on the English throne, gay, affable, and dispensing her sunny smiles to all around her. Amidst the dark season of bigotry and persecution, she seems to have glided amongst its ministers like an angel of peace. Her mind was apparently quick and versatile ; she read with avidity Tyndal's translation of the Scriptures, and others of his works which the Archbishop put into her hand, and which were deemed heretical. She delighted in the flowing verses of Wyatt, and made him her poet laureate. She spoke kindly to all her attendants, and, when the princess Elizabeth was born, in less than a year after her marriage, she probably believed that her happiness was secure.

CHAPTER V.

Soon after these events, Henry was prevailed upon by Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, (who was commissioned by Francis,) to make concessions to the Court of Rome. The Pope, who really had no wish to come to extremities with England, finally agreed to defer his sentence of excommunication in consequence of Catharine's divorce and Henry's marriage, and wait for the submission. This negotiation in part transpired, and gave doubt and alarm to Anne and her party. Anne knew that she could find no favor with the Pope, and the Protestants were fully aware that a renewal of apologies and promises was a renewal of Catholic bonds.

Cranmer, well acquainted with the obstinacy of Henry, looked on with dismay, trusting, however, that the reformed religion might yet be protected. The messenger was despatched to Rome, and the English Protestants waited with anxious feelings for the events that were to follow.

Contrary winds detained the courier of the King beyond the time appointed. To the ex-

cited mind of the Pope, this delay was a new insult. In vain his counsellors solicited him to suspend the sentence, and suggested the possibility of involuntary detention. The Pope positively refused, and uttered the sentence of excommunication against Henry, and England became a Protestant country !

The dismay of the Catholic conclave, with Clement at their head, may well be imagined at the arrival of the courier freighted with Henry's submission, two days after the tremendous sentence of excommunication had been hurled at his royal head. Cranmer might well say with Luther, "God is on our side," when he found the intended submission of the King was rendered of no avail by the precipitancy of the Pope, and his zeal in the cause of reformation seems from this time to have been unceasing. The first step he proposed, was, to have the Scriptures put into *vulgar* or common language, and liberty given to all to read them. Though this motion was acceded to in Parliament, yet another was added of an opposite spirit, and greatly vexed the Archbishop. "That all in whose possession were books printed in the vulgar language, either beyond or this side of the sea, of suspect doctrine, should be warned, within three months to bring them in before certain persons appointed by the King, under certain penalties to be determined by

the King." The Archbishop had openly in his preaching denied the Pope's jurisdiction ; but in March, 1534, a bill was read in the House of Lords, setting forth the intolerable exactions for *Peter-pence*, provisions, pensions, and bulls, which were contrary to all laws, and grounded only on the Pope's power of dispensing, which was usurped ; for the King, and the Lords and Commons only had the right to consider how the laws might be dispensed with, or abrogated, and that the King ought to be considered the supreme head of the Church. This act was accepted, and the succession to the crown was secured, in another bill passed a few days after, to the descendants of Queen Anne, in which all were required " to swear to bear faith, truth, and obedience alonely to the King's majesty, and to his heirs of his most dear and entirely beloved wife, Queen Anne."

This bill very naturally awoke new opposition among the Catholics, and new tumults. Anne had the mortification of seeing herself continually styled the "upstart Queen," the subject of coarse and indecent jests ; for the English were not at that time accomplished in the neat and pointed epigram of the French. They pounced upon their prey, and mauled and battered like any boxers. Not contented with this prowess, their dissatisfaction began to take a treasonable shape, mak-

ing a woman by the name of Anne Barton their unfortunate tool.

This person had been subject to epileptic fits, and, while under their partial dominion, adopted a wildness and strangeness of denunciation, that has since afforded a model for many romances. Bred in the Roman Catholic school, and deeply sensible of the wrongs of Catharine, she naturally turned her vituperation upon her successor Anne. More than once, Anne had, in her excursions, heard the wild ravings of the self-styled prophetess. With the curiosity of youth, she had even paused to listen ; and, when her attendants would have arrested or used violence towards the woman, she had ordered them to let her alone. The impression was a fleeting one upon the Queen's mind, and it was not till she was styled the Maid of Kent, and her mission "accredited by a letter written in heaven, and sent to her by Mary Magdalene," that the mad woman was recalled to her memory.

Nothing more entirely exhibits the darkness of the age, than the importance attached to this miserable woman. The King became more especially the object of her predictions. She ventured to proclaim that he would die the death of a common felon. As she resided within the diocese of Cranmer, he could not remain ignorant of her growing influence. For some time

he regarded her as Anne had done, as of little importance ; but, when her predictions took a form so treasonable, and she even fixed on a day for the death of the King, he could no longer remain inactive. There is a letter of the Archbishop's still extant giving an account of her. " When she was brought here and laid before the image of our Lady, her face was wonderfully disfigured, her tongue hanging out, and her eyes being in a manner plucked out, and laid upon her cheeks ; and so greatly disordered." Le Bas, the historian of Cranmer, supposes she had something of the gift of ventriloquism, for the Archbishop goes on to say ; " Then there was a voice heard speaking inwardly, her lips not greatly moving ; she all that while continuing by the space of three hours or more in a trance. The which voice, when it told any thing of the joys of heaven, it spake so sweetly and so heavenly, that every man was ravished with the hearing thereof. And contrary, when it told any thing of hell, it spake so horribly and terribly, that it put the hearers in great fear. It spake also many things for the confirmation of pilgrimages, and trentals, hearing of masses and confessions, and many other such things. And after she had lain there a long time, she came to herself again, and was perfectly whole. And so this miracle was finished and solemnly sung, and a book written of all the story thereof,

and put into print ; which ever since that time hath been commonly sold, and gone abroad among the people."

Trances and somnambulism have generally been the medium of imposition. Cranmer goes on to say, that he had "sent for the holy maid and examined her, and now she confessed all, and said she never had a vision in her life ; but all that she ever said was feigned of her own imagination, to satisfy the minds of them that resorted unto her, and to obtain worldly praise."

She and her accomplices were arraigned and committed to the Tower. On the 20th of April, the Nun or Holy Maid, with her instigators, were brought to Tyburn. Whatever might have been her misdoings in other respects, it is shocking to think that a poor epileptic woman, the tool of others, should have been executed for treason. Her speech at the scaffold is such, as in lucid moments and removed from improper influence, might be expected. "Hither I am come to die ; and I have been not only the cause of my own death, which most justly I have deserved, but also am the cause of the death of all those persons who suffer here at this time. And yet, to say the truth, I am not much to be blamed, considering that it was well known to these learned men that I was a poor wench, without learning, and therefore they might easily have perceived that

the things that were done by me could not proceed in no such sort ; but their capacities and learning could right well judge from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether feigned. But because the thing which I feigned was altogether profitable to them, therefore they much praised me, and bore me in hand, that it was the Holy Ghost and not I that did them ; and then, I being puffed up with their praises, fell into a certain pride and foolish fantasy with myself, and thought I might feign what I would, which thing hath brought me to this case ; and for the which now, I cry God and the King's Highness most heartily mercy, and desire you all good people to pray to God to have mercy on me, and on all them that here suffer with me."

Warham and Fisher were for a time duped by the delusion, and even Sir Thomas More thought the matter worth investigating ; but it does not appear that he was decided, as he always spoke of her as the "silly nun." Those who were executed with her as abettors, have been called the first *martyrs of reform* ; with how much justice is easily determined.

When the imposition was first discovered, Cromwell, then Secretary of State, sent to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, a reproof, and advised him to write an humble letter to the King, and desire his pardon, saying, he knew the King

would grant it. Fisher, however, evaded the advice, and said that he was induced to have faith in her from what is said in the Prophet Amos, "that God will do nothing without revealing it to his servants." He continued obstinate, and would make no submission.

The oath of succession for Anne's issue was now administered, including many other articles. It was generally accepted and sworn to; but Sir Thomas More and the Bishop of Rochester refused to take the oath. The Archbishop, who had a sincere respect for More, urged him most earnestly to subscribe to it, and used arguments convincing to his own mind.

"You say," said Cranmer, "that you are not persuaded that it is a sin, but a doubtful matter. You certainly know you ought to obey the King and the law; therefore there is a certainty on the one hand, and only a doubt on the other."

"I have weighed the matter," he replied, "and examined it carefully, and my conscience leans to the other side. I am willing to take my oath that this is a matter of principle, and not done from disrespect or obstinacy."

Gardiner, the Abbot of Westminster, then said, that he might see that his conscience was erroneous, since the great council of the realm was of another mind, and therefore he ought to change his conscience.

“If I were alone,” said More, “against the whole Parliament, I might suspect my own judgment ; but I have the whole council of Christendom on my side.”

Secretary Cromwell, who tenderly loved him, began to fear that his ruin was inevitable, and protested that his refusal of the oath was to him like losing his only son.

Cranmer, now finding that neither More nor Fisher could be wrought upon to sign what was called the succession, asked them if they would swear to the succession of the crown for the issue of the King's present marriage, and let the other articles rest.

After deliberation they consented, and Cranmer wrote an earnest and touching letter to Cromwell, entreating these terms might be accepted. But the King was too much irritated, and determined the thing should proceed according to law ; and they were indicted and committed to the Tower. There they were imprisoned for a year. More was supplied with the necessaries of life by his favorite daughter, Margaret Roper ; but Fisher, in his seventy-seventh year, with all the infirmities of old age, was left without suitable clothing, and compelled to solicit it even from his persecutors.

There is something in this proceeding, that calls forth our extreme indignation. Two men,

distinguished for their piety and truth, educated as Catholics, were thus condemned for asserting that Henry was not the supreme head of the Catholic Church. Fisher was the last surviving counsellor of Henry the Seventh, and to his care the Countess of Richmond, the King's grandmother, on her death-bed, recommended her royal grandson, Henry the Eighth. For a time, the young monarch had revered him, and even boasted, that no one possessed a prelate equal in virtue and learning to the Bishop of Rochester. His opposition to the divorce first alienated the King; then the affair of Elizabeth Barton drew upon him an attainder for treason; and the third opposition in refusing to take the oath of succession, sealed his ruin.

After Fisher was imprisoned, and before the news of his condemnation had reached Rome, Paul the Third, the successor of Clement, named him for a Cardinal. When this information reached Henry, he said with much jocularly, "Paul may send the hat, but we will take care that he shall have no head to wear it on."

Cranmer did not cease exerting his influence to save the lives of these two men. When More was to appear at the bar, he was conducted on foot through the most frequented streets, on the 7th of May, 1535, and entered the court leaning on his staff, for he was much

weakened by his imprisonment ; but his countenance was cheerful and composed. The sentence pronounced upon him is too horrible to record, but "by the King's mercy" it was changed into beheading.

Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was still more enfeebled by age and great privations, but seems to have preserved a cheerfulness almost amounting to vivacity ; or, perhaps, the speedy prospect of relief, after the time of his execution was fixed, might have produced it. For instance, there was a false rumor that he was to be executed on a certain day. His cook hearing of it, omitted preparing his dinner. He inquired why his dinner was not brought. "Sir," said the cook, "it was commonly talked all the towne over, that you should have died that day, and therefore I thought it but vaine to dresse any thing for you."

"For all that report," he answered merrily, "thou seest me yet alive ; and, therefore, whatsoever newes thou shalt heare of me hereafter, let me no more lack my dinner, but make it ready as thou art wont to do ; and, if thou seest me dead when thou comest, eat it thyself."

He arrayed himself for his execution with uncommon care, calling it his "marriage day." When the lieutenant came for him, he was not

quite ready, and sent for his furred tippet to put round his neck.

The officer smiled, and said, "O my lord, what neede you be so careful for your health for this little time, not much above an houre."

"I think no otherwise," he replied ; "but yet I will keep myself as well as I can till the very time of my execution. I will not willingly hinder my health one minute of an hour, but still prolong the same as long as I can, by such reasonable waies and meanes, as God hath provided for me."

There is something truly dignified in this reply, showing the healthy and composed state of his mind.

"When the innocent and holy man was come upon the scaffold, he spake to the people in effect as followeth ;

"Christian people, I am come hither to die for the faith of Christ's holy Catholique Church ; and I thank God hitherto my stomach hath served me very well thereunto, so that yet I have not feared death ; wherefore I desire you all to help and assist with your prayers, and, at the very instant and point of death's stroke, I may in that very moment stand steadfast without fainting in any one point of the Catholique faith, free from any fear."

Would that this were the first blood shed in

the cause of religious faith during Henry the Eighth's reign. But it is sad to think, that men who could die so nobly for their own belief, were previously instruments in shedding the blood of Lutherans ! There is sufficient evidence that Cranmer bitterly lamented the death of these two men, and used all the influence he possessed to save their lives.

The execution of these two distinguished sons of the Catholic Church, Sir Thomas More and Fisher, filled the Pope, Paul the Third, with just indignation. He perceived that the period for temporizing was past, and he determined to make a desperate effort to establish once more his authority among the subjects of the rebellious King. For this purpose, in 1535, his celebrated bull was executed. The tenor of it is well known. It summons the King and his accomplices to appear at Rome within sixty days, on pain of excommunication and of exclusion from Christian burial. In case of disobedience, an interdict is laid on public worship, and the posterity of Anne Boleyn pronounced illegitimate. It absolves the subjects of Henry from their fealty and allegiance, commands the clergy to leave the realm, and forbids the military to stir in defence of the King. It prohibits all Christian powers from entering into treaty or confederacy with the King, and dissolves all previous engage-

ments made with him. It charges the nobility and gentry to take up arms against their sovereign, and authorizes all to seize the property of those who disobey the bull, and to reduce them to slavery.

There was two or three years' delay before this tremendous instrument was actually and officially issued. Paul and his counsellors were credulous enough to believe that the mere rumor of it would be sufficient to bring Henry to terms ; but, lest it should not accomplish all that was intended, another alarming report was circulated, that the Pope had determined, if Henry continued disobedient, to take away his kingdom, and give it to one of the pious German princes.

What in the present day excites derision, at that period stirred up controversy. And in this childish exhibition of pontifical power, Cranmer found the cause which lay at his heart strongly aided.

He succeeded in consecrating the excellent Latimer in the see of Worcester ; a man who seems to have been free from the persecuting bigotry of the times. Cromwell was created vicegerent by the King ; and, whatever was his character, he did much towards aiding Cranmer's purposes. The suppression of the monasteries was his work, in conjunction with the King, who was nothing loth to convert their revenues to

his own emolument. Cranmer most earnestly desired, that the monasteries and abbeys might become schools and colleges, and used many arguments and much persuasion for that purpose.

CHAPTER VI.

A HEAVY calamity was now impending over the Archbishop. He had loved the Queen with parental affection, and trusted that her reign might promote the cause of virtue and true religion. In the continuance of her gay and sometimes sportive demeanor, after she became Queen of England, he saw only the same natural vivacity, that had made her the delight of her friends, the charm of her father's household, and had won the heart of the monarch. It does not appear, that he had ever advised her to a change of demeanor, or warned her that her royal husband had placed spies in her path. Such an idea was probably as remote from his mind, as it appears to have been from that of the unfortunate Queen.

It was at a tilting match that the King's jealousy is said to have reached its height. The fall of her handkerchief, whether by accident or design, which he chose to consider a signal to a lover, was the pretext he made use of to accuse the Queen. But, if the beautiful Jane Seymour was present, it elucidates the mystery. Anne was to be sacrificed to make way for a rival.

The mockery of her trial fills us with indignation. Surrounded by enemies, all eager for her ruin, for Henry had become despotic ; tormented by the presence of a woman, who, though the wife of her uncle, took pleasure in annoying her ; accused of the vilest crimes by the infamous Lady Rochfort, who, for the sake of accomplishing the ruin of the Queen, condemned her own husband to the scaffold, what hope remained for the unfortunate Anne ? We naturally look to Cranmer ; but even here our expectations are frustrated. The King, knowing the antagonist he must encounter, sent him his positive commands, not to appear at Court, but to go to Lambeth.

It is evident that there had been some want of harmony between Anne and her royal husband previously to the birth of a son, " who, in being born dead," greatly enraged him, as his expectations were at once disappointed. Her gentle and heart-breaking remonstrance, that it might have been different but for his unkindness, proves that she had suffered previously to the event. The best explanation of the sequel of the Queen's history, is in the following sentence. " The King saw her no longer with those eyes which she had formerly captivated." .

It is very possible, that her manners might have been too frank and open for the high dignity of her situation, and have given the King some

grounds for jealousy. But the extreme alienation that took place, can only be accounted for, by bearing in mind his character, as it exhibited itself through life. Jealous of the sentiments he inspired, and forgetting how entirely he had lost the power of *charming*, he probably discovered this unwelcome truth from Anne's involuntary deportment. Her own observation confirms this idea. While protesting her innocence of any crime, she adds, that possibly she might not have been sufficiently guarded in concealing her dissatisfaction towards him. Probably *disgust* was the true word, and we may well believe that her death was too slight a revenge for his insulted pride. It was sufficient however for his purposes, as it opened the way for a new Queen.

No one can read the trial of Anne Boleyn, without feeling the mockery of it. The King's accusation against her of infidelity falls to the ground, and the poor resource of a pre-contract with Percy, Earl of Northumberland, is had recourse to. This the Earl positively denied on oath ; but Anne, perhaps, understanding less the nature of legal contracts, and remembering her first love, and feeling that her heart was closely allied to his, let fall words that could be interpreted into a confession of a contract before her marriage with the King.

Let us look at the situation of this unfortunate

Queen, at whose coronation, three years before, we have glanced. She had decidedly advocated the reformed doctrines, and used all her influence that the Bible might be translated into English, in a manner that all might search it for themselves. She had endeavoured to promote a union between Henry and the Protestant princes. This naturally disaffected her Catholic subjects ; and as her charities, though freely given to all who were in want, were among the poor and uninfluential, they created for her no powerful party. In nine months she distributed between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds to the poor, and was urgent that the money that was raised by the suppression of religious houses should be dedicated to benevolent purposes.

Gardiner, who was abroad, and the Duke of Norfolk at Court, justly dreaded her influence in opposition to the Catholic cause, and heartily wished her out of the way. There were enough round the King to seize the humor of his mind, and to act as spies ; and, by informing him that a Lady Wingfield had sworn upon her death-bed that the Queen was unfaithful to him, they gave him a pretence for arraigning her. " This," says an historian of the times, " was the safest sort of forgery, to lay a thing on a dead person's name, where there is no fear of discovery before the great day."

When she was first arraigned, she appears to

have doubted the reality, and said, smiling, "The King has only done this thing to prove me." When actually convinced, she was seized with violent nervous affections, and talked wildly of her own innocence and the judgment that would fall on her enemies. She earnestly entreated to see the King; but, of course, this she was denied. The next day she was carried to the Tower, and Lady Boleyn, an aunt-in-law, was placed with her as a spy, who regularly studied to draw confessions from her, every day making known all that fell from her lips.

We may imagine what was the state of the prisoner, naturally so excitable, and of a delicate and sensitive frame. Her sense of wretchedness seemed to be extreme, and brought on nervous spasms. Sometimes she wept violently, and then, by a sudden transition of feeling, burst into laughter. Then, again, she called on her mother, and bemoaned her misery when she should hear of her calamity; but she was denied the natural solace of seeing her. Her mother was not permitted to be with her. Could she have rested her throbbing head on her bosom, could she have felt maternal tears mingling with hers, could she have listened to the soothing, though agonized accents of affection, we might have pitied her less; for that being is not wholly desolate, who has one friend to lean upon. But poor Anne had none.

“O, if my Bishops were but here,” she exclaimed, “they would speak for me !”

But the King would not see Cranmer, and Cranmer alone dared by letter to plead her cause. This letter is given at length in various histories.* That it was written with the design of aiding the Queen, is fully apparent ; and yet, with the greatest caution, not to defend her so warmly as to excite anew the evil feelings of the King. While he protests that he was most bound to her of all creatures living, next to his Grace, he beseeches the King to suffer him to wish and pray that she may declare herself inculpable and innocent. “I am in such a perplexity,” he says, “that my mind is clean amazed ; for I never had better opinion in woman than I had in her ; which maketh me to think that she could not be culpable.”

We must reflect, for a moment, on the despotic power of Henry, and the implicit deference exercised towards him, to excuse in any degree the inactivity of Anne’s former friends. We feel far from satisfied with the only one that made any attempt to bring the King to reflection ; and this was Cranmer. Yet it would have been probably a useless sacrifice of his own life, had he ex-

* Burnet’s “History of the Reformation,” Vol. II. ;
“British State Trials,” &c.

erted himself warmly in her cause. The methods he made use of were prudent and cautious, but failed, as all others would have done. We hope, for the sake of human nature, that he urged to see the Queen in her prison ; but this would be a matter between the King and himself, and was not granted. She was doomed to linger through her days of suspense without the consolation of sympathy. At length she was summoned to her trial, pronounced guilty of high treason, and sentenced to be burned.

We may imagine what her agony was at this terrible prospect, and how she might be wrought on to confess herself guilty in the hope of mitigating the sentence. But, with all this natural horror acting upon her mind, she never for an instant wavered in declaring her innocence of all offence save the pre-contract, which she evidently did not understand legally.

It was now necessary that a divorce should be obtained, in order that Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne, should be rendered illegitimate. The Archbishop was called on to pronounce the sentence of divorce. This was done at Lambeth, he sitting as judge.

Till we reflect fully on the circumstances, we are shocked that any human authority could have compelled him to such a step. But Anne had confessed the pre-contract with another before

her marriage, and confessed it at Lambeth before Cranmer. In his office of judge he was obliged to pronounce the sentence of divorce. That he was deeply afflicted, there is abundant testimony. Other motives probably operated upon his mind. He thought, if Anne was no longer an obstacle to the King's marriage, but was fairly divorced, her life might be spared, and a pardon granted ; but no such mercy was in store for her. In consequence of her confession, her sentence of burning was commuted to beheading.

When all suspense was over, and she knew that she must die, and the manner of her death, some natural feeling of apprehension seems to have clung to her, as she expressed to the executioner, Mr. Kingston. “ ‘ Mr. Kingston, I hear say I shall not die this afternoon ; and I am very sorry therefore ; for I thought to be dead by this time, and past my pain.’ I told her it would be no pain, it was so sottle. ‘ I have a little neck,’ said she, laughing, and put her hands about it. I have seen many men and women executed ; and that they have been in much sorrow ; but this lady, to my knowledge, has joy and pleasure in death.” *

Thus ended the life of Anne Boleyn, in 1536, the very year of Catharine's death. Catholic historians have argued presumptions of her guilt,

* Kingston's letter.

because her daughter, Queen Elizabeth, instituted no process to prove her innocence during her reign. On the score of prudence, it agreed with her wary policy to let the question of succession, now at rest, remain so. And then how could she institute an inquiry, without rendering her father's memory as execrable as it deserved to be. She acted in this respect with her usual wisdom. Of the unfortunate Anne there is now little to be said. Her great fault was ambition; and dearly she paid for it. Her advocates say, for five years she resisted the King's criminal suit, and finally obliged him to make her his Queen. There is little of honor in that virtue which suffered such an assault for five years, nor is it uncandid to suppose that her coquetry kept alive his passion. She frequented his tilts and tournaments, when she knew herself to be the object of them, and sometimes retired from the Court, and sometimes returned to it. We have seen many *queen it* on a smaller scale, and with a far less object than a diadem; but the want of truth and exalted virtue is the same. Poor Anne Boleyn! for what does her history now serve, but to "point a moral." Let us use it then as we may. We are not fond of talking of retribution; it is a mysterious subject, and may be the source of uncharitable mistakes. But there was a remarkable coincidence between Anne's errors and her misfortunes. Neither her

youth, nor her thoughtlessness, nor her constitutional gayety, can lead us to overlook her want of feeling for Catharine of Aragon, nor the little remorse with which she took possession of her throne. Three years afterwards, how bitterly was the pang brought home to her own heart. Did she not then think of the injured Queen? We are told that she did, and of the Princess Mary, and sent a message to the latter, imploring her forgiveness for any harshness she might have shown towards her in her relation of step-mother.

Then, too, from the early attachment between herself and Percy of Northumberland, arose another striking coincidence. She had slighted his honest love in the prospect of a crown; she had relinquished his affection in consequence of the unrighteous pursuit of the monarch; and, on that very peg, he hung his accusation, — on the pre-contract (if there was one) which he had severed. Truly, “the gods make scourges” of our errors as well as vices. In these points, we think, consist the whole of Anne’s offences; and “grievously did she atone for them.”

Her last letter to the King ought not to be omitted.

“SIR, Your Grace’s displeasure, and my imprisonment, are things so strange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether igno-

rant. Whereas you send unto me, (willing me to confess a truth, and so obtain your favor,) by such an one whom you know to be mine ancient professed enemy, I no sooner received this message by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and as if, as you say, confessing a truth indeed may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty, perform your command.

“But let not your Grace ever imagine, that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought thereof preceded. And to speak a truth, never prince had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God, and your Grace’s pleasure, had been so pleased. Neither did I, at any time, so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received Queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your Grace’s fancy, the least alteration, I knew, was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to some other subject. You have chosen me from a low estate, to be your Queen and companion, far beyond my desert or desire. If then you found me worthy of such honor, good your Grace, let not any light fancy, or bad counsel of mine enemies, withdraw your princely

favor from me ; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good Grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful trial, and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges ; yea, let me receive an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame ; then shall you see, either mine innocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open censure ; and, mine offence being so lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unlawful wife, but to follow your affection, already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto ; your Grace being not ignorant of my suspicion therein.

“ But, if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander, must bring you the enjoying of your desired happiness, then I desire of God, that he will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof ; and that he will not call you to a strict account for your unprince-

ly and cruel usage of me, at his general judgment seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment, I doubt not, (whatsoever the world may think of me,) mine innocence shall be openly known, and sufficiently cleared.

“ My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burthen of your Grace’s displeasure, and that it may not touch the innocent souls of those poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favor in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Boleyn hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request ; and I will so leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your actions. From my doleful prison in the Tower, this 6th of May.

“ Your most loyal and ever faithful wife,

“ ANNE BOLEYN.”

The night before her execution, she sent to the King the following noble message. “ Tell him, I thank him that he has still continued to advance me ; from a private gentlewoman, he first made me a Marchioness, then a Queen, and, now that he can raise me no higher on earth, he is sending me to be a saint in heaven.”

The day after the execution, the King led Jane Seymour to the altar, and by this violation of common decency, evinced the motive of his persecution. Indeed, so impatient was he for Anne's death, that he ordered cannon to be fired as a signal that the deed was done.

The intelligence of these events filled all Europe with horror and astonishment. Cranmer came in for his share of indignation. But we are told by able casuists, that "what he did was unavoidable ; for, whatever motives drew from her the confession of a pre-contract, he was obliged to give sentence upon it."

Lady Mary, daughter of Catharine of Aragon, now wrote a humble letter to the King, and desired to be admitted to his presence, asserting that, whereas she had formerly troubled him by her obstinacy, she now freely submitted to the laws of the land about the succession.

The King was by no means contented with this submission, and insisted on her acknowledging him to be the supreme head of the Church, and the Pope's authority an assumed one ; and also on her declaring that his marriage with her mother was unlawful and void. After much debate and writing many letters to Cromwell, she at length yielded, and sent a paper containing a full submission to all the articles the King required, and signed it with her own hand. She was then received

into favor, and an establishment was provided for her. The allowance made for her private expenses was one hundred and sixty pounds a year !

Elizabeth does not appear to have shared the disgrace of her mother. She was bred at Court, and treated with maternal affection by the new Queen, whose sweetness of disposition seems to be allowed by all.

CHAPTER VII.

IN looking back upon former periods of history, nothing can be more unjust or erroneous than to measure men by present opinions. This particularly applies to Americans, a nation who have never known the yoke of despotism, and who cannot easily bring their minds to believe that a fellow-mortal, "dressed in a little, brief authority," could cramp and paralyze even the moral powers of the mind. It seems, however, at this time, to have excited indignation among European powers, that Cranmer could be even a subordinate actor in such scenes of tyrannical injustice and cruelty. There can be no doubt that the Archbishop entertained the highest idea of kingly power, and believed himself bound by his office to pronounce the sentences of divorce on the former and on this occasion.

With regard to Catharine, his convictions were sincere, that the marriage was unlawful ; with regard to Anne, we do not believe that he for a moment thought her guilty. Where, then, shall we find an apology for an unrighteous deed. The most obvious was before suggested ; that he con-

sidered, that, by pronouncing the divorce, the wrath of Henry might be mitigated, and Anne permitted to live.

Another reason, no doubt, acted powerfully on the mind of the Archbishop ; and this was, his entire devotion to the cause of the Reformation. It engrossed his whole soul, and all things else were minor. Though his mild and kindly character, his own assertion in his letter to the King, that " he never had so high an opinion of any woman as of Anne," his long intimacy with her, and his knowledge of her private charities, are a sufficient evidence, that, whether he believed her guilty or innocent, his distress must have been great ; yet he does not appear to have relaxed for a moment his efforts in this great cause. In the same letter to the King, he contrives to introduce the subject. " Wherefore, I trust that your Grace will bear no less entire favor unto the truths of the Gospel, than you did before ; forsomuch as your Grace's favor to the Gospel was not led by affection unto her, but by zeal unto the truth." The last assertion, whether made with perfect simplicity, or founded on the traits of the King's character, was well calculated to answer the purpose designed.

It is time to quit this unwelcome subject. The Catholics were sanguine that the death of Anne would restore the kingdom to its popish allegiance.

But the new Parliament that was called, entirely extinguished this hope. On the contrary, their measures were such as to render the royal authority complete. Not a shadow of importance was left for the Pope, and the power of the crown was more despotic and absolute than any which had been before assumed by the kings.

At this time, the famous Articles were drawn up, and after being revised and corrected by the King, were published with this title ; “ Articles devised by the King’s Highness, to stablish quietness and unity, and to avoid contentious opinions.” An historian says ; “ The publication of these articles may justly be considered as the sunrise of our doctrinal Reformation.” Though they contain remnants of Romish opinions, there is a uniform reference to Scripture throughout, and the spirit of Cranmer is easily discernible. Indeed, he was now considered the head of the Protestant party, and, as such, his path was a thorny one. He was subject to petty, but harassing opposition, and a foolish story, for which there was no ground, was invented, of his being originally an ostler. An ignorant priest expressed his surprise, that a man who was early in life an ostler, and had no more learning than a goose, should be so much extolled. He was committed to the Fleet, by some of the zealous admirers of Cranmer, and, after remaining there a few days,

sent an humble petition to the Archbishop for pardon. This led Cranmer to inquire into the nature of his offence, and he ordered the priest brought into his presence.

“ Did you ever see me before this day ? ” said the primate.

“ Never,” replied the priest.

“ Why, then,” said Cranmer, “ did you call me an ostler, and report that I had no more learning than a gosling ? ”

“ Alas ! ” said the priest, “ I was drunk or beside myself.”

“ Well,” replied Cranmer, “ produce your own learning, and confound me now. Begin in grammar, if you will ; or else in science and divinity.”

“ Indeed, my lord,” said the priest, much confused, “ I do not understand the Latin tongue ; I can only speak English.”

“ Be it so,” replied Cranmer ; “ you read the Bible of course. Who was David’s father ? ”

The priest acknowledged that he really did not know.

“ Then, perhaps,” said Cranmer, “ you will inform me, who was the father of Solomon ? ”

The priest now protested that he knew nothing of the *genealogies*, and the Archbishop closed this amusing examination by giving him his liberty and dismissing him.

• One great difficulty, which vexed Cranmer, was the impossibility of suppressing the many superfluous holydays ; though he set the example himself by disregarding the festival of Thomas à Becket. He considered them all as inlets to idleness and disorder, and ruinous to the families of laborers, besides keeping up the ancient superstitions. It was with much regret he found that they were welcomed and observed at the King's Court, where no opportunity of a popish festival was disregarded. He wrote to Cromwell on this subject, and adds the following striking sentence. " But, my lord, if in the Court you do keep such holydays and fasting days as be abrogated, when shall we persuade the people to cease from keeping them ? For the King's own house shall be an example unto all the realm, to break his own ordinances." We see, in this spirited remonstrance, a courage worthy of his character.

One of the pleasantest circumstances that occurred to Cranmer during this year, was the completion of the Bible in English, in one great folio volume, known by the name of " Matthew's Bible." This name was fictitious, as it was translated by Coverdale and Tyndal. The melancholy fate of the latter may not be passed unnoticed. He early imbibed the doctrines of Luther, and, after residing some time at Cambridge, went to the continent, that he might, with greater security,

print his translation of the New Testament into English. At Antwerp he was seized as a heretic, and imprisoned. Cromwell wrote for his release, and many interested themselves in his favor. But in vain ; he was condemned, first strangled, and then his remains burned near Antwerp. So great was his zeal and perseverance, that he was called the "Apostle of England." *

This Bible was distributed in every direction, and one was chained to the desk of each of the parochial churches. The zeal with which it was read and sought after was surprising. Assemblies of mechanics and laborers collected to listen. Youth and age discovered equal eagerness. Often the motley group were seen seated on the green sward around the lecturer ; for not only Bibles were rare, but readers too. There might be seen the old man bending forward, with his grey locks, and his aged partner in her snowy kerchief, with decent coif thrown back, lest a word should fall unheeded on the dull ear of age. In groups behind, sat youths and maidens, their little interests and mutual sympathies suspended,

* The corrector of the translation was John Rogers, the martyr, of *Primer* memory, a distinguished divine in Edward's reign, and the first doomed to the stake under that of his successor.

Wiclif had translated the New Testament more than a century before.

with lips unclosed and eager eyes fixed on the reader, who usually *chanted* forth the words of Scripture, and sometimes quickened their attention by involuntary stops at strange names, or unfamiliar words. Nor must childhood be left out of the group. Infants in their mothers' arms, and children too young to remain behind, the solitary tenants of the cottage, — thoughtless little beings who listen for a few moments, and then sleep or play.

Often, too, when the services of the Sabbath were over, which were prolonged till sunset, a group collected to hear the Bible read in the grave-yard, seating themselves on the mossy stones, or the new mounds covered with fresh springing grass. Desolate mourners were there, the widowed partner, the bereaved mother who had buried her last hope, and the orphan thrown on the wide world. O ! what to them must have been the joy, as they listened ! “ I am the resurrection and the life ; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live.” And is this book so changed, that we now read and hear it “ as a tale that is told ” ? Must we have novelty to stimulate us ? or are its precepts and its promises so familiar to us, that they no longer come like “ tidings of great joy ” ?

As soon as the translation had been completed, Cranmer sent one to Cromwell, requesting him to

present it to the King. This Cromwell did, and the Archbishop writes him in return, that "he had thereby made his memory famous to posterity within the realm, among all such as should hereafter be favorers of God's Word ; and that he should hear of this good deed of his at the last day. That for his part, it was such a content to his mind, that he could not have done him a greater pleasure if he had given him a thousand pounds. And that such knowledge would ensue hereupon, that it should appear he had done excellent service both to God and the King."

It must not be forgotten, that Cranmer first opened this book to the people ; a book that had been so long sealed to those who most required religious instruction.*

Another book about this time was published, called the Bishop's Book. Its real title was,

* To those who have never met with the little personal history of William Malden, related in Strype's "Memorials of Cranmer," it will be interesting as told from himself.

"When the King first allowed the Bible to be set forth to be read in churches, immediately several poor men in the town of Chelmsford, in Essex, where his father lived, and he was born, bought the New Testament, and on Sundays sat reading of it in the lower end of the church. Many would flock about them to hear their reading ; and he among the rest, being then but fifteen years old, came every Sunday to hear the glad and sweet tidings of the Gospel. But his father, observing it once,

“The Institution of a Christian Man.” This was first brought forward by Cranmer, but it afterwards took the name of the King’s Book, from being republished under the royal license. By the Archbishop’s agency, also, the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, were allowed to be taught in English.

Thus far, Cranmer had proceeded, and, if we look back to the time when he was raised to the primacy, we shall be astonished at the progress of reform. The King was wedded to the Catholic forms, and had not the Pope’s supremacy interfered with his own, he would have suffered him

fetches him away angrily, and would have him to say the Latin matins with him, which grieved him much. This put him upon the thoughts of learning to read English, that so he might read the New Testament himself, which, when he had by diligence effected, he and his father’s apprentice bought the New Testament, joining their stocks together; and, to conceal it, laid it under the bed straw and read it at convenient times. One night, his father being asleep, he and his mother chanced to discourse concerning the crucifix, and the form of kneeling down to it, and knocking on the breast, and holding up the hands to it when it came by in procession. This, he told his mother, was plain idolatry, and against the commandment of God, where he saith, ‘Thou shalt not make any graven image, nor bow down to it, nor worship it.’ His mother, enraged at him for this, said, ‘Wilt thou not worship the cross which was about thee when thou wert christened, and must be laid on thee when thou art

to enjoy it uninterruptedly. In several instances, Cranmer boldly opposed the King, particularly in the appropriation of the wealth of religious houses to his own use. He had already seized on many of the monasteries, and at length Cranmer spoke with earnestness on the subject, and proposed various schemes for throwing this treasure into useful channels. "Let us not," said he, "consume it for the purposes of luxury ; let it rather be expended on high roads." He proposed instituting colleges of priests, composed of students just removed, and well recommended, from the universities. They were to be under control of the

dead ?' In this heat, the mother and son departed, and went to their beds. The sum of this evening's conference she presently repeats to her husband, which he, impatient to hear, and boiling in fury against his son for denying the worship due to the cross, arose up forthwith, and goes into his son's chamber, and, like a mad zealot, taking him by the hair of his head, pulled him out of the bed and whipped him unmercifully. And when the young man bore this beating with a kind of joy, considering it was for Christ's sake, and shed not a tear, his father, seeing that, was more enraged, and ran down and fetched an halter, and put it about his neck, saying he would hang him. At length, with much entreaty of the mother and brother, he left him half dead."

We surely may see here the spirit of the martyrs. Though the relation was not made till Queen Elizabeth's reign, the circumstance took place in Henry the Eighth's.

bishops, who might promote them, according to their abilities, to parochial charges.

The King, however, had other intentions, and spoke decisively on the subject. Immediately, all gave way to his royal will, and Cranmer was left alone to brave the storm. He still, however, continued his opposition ; and it soon began to be whispered that the primate's influence was greatly lessened, the Protestant cause tottering, and Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, one of the leaders of the Catholic party, rapidly gaining ground.

This wily statesman, or ecclesiastic, as the times called for, thought it now a favorable moment to strike a blow at the Protestant party. He was aided by the Duke of Norfolk in this enterprise, and their representations greatly moved the King. Nothing, however, rescued the monasteries from his avarice. Images, shrines, and relics were treated as rubbish, and even Thomas à Becket, the saint of Canterbury, whose tomb had been the object of pilgrimages, and whose remains had performed miracles, for centuries, was now doomed to be tried in a court of justice. It was thought that a splendid jewel, formerly bestowed on his shrine by Louis the Seventh of France, greatly increased the King's zeal. However that may be, he cited the saint to appear at Court, and had him tried and condemned as a

traitor, ordered his name to be struck out of the Calendar, his bones to be burned, and the ashes scattered to the winds, and all his treasures confiscated to himself!

The capricious extravagance with which he dispensed the wealth thus acquired is almost incredible, giving abbeys as a reward to a cook who had dressed a dish to his taste, and making even more disgraceful donations.

The only religious question, which Henry through his life supported with unwavering zeal, was, the corporeal presence of Christ in the eucharist. Gardiner represented to the King, that severe persecution of those who denied it would establish his character for piety, and zeal against heretics. An unfortunate opportunity presented itself in the person of John Nicolson or Lambert, who had denied the real presence. He was first summoned before Cranmer, who mildly and judiciously strove to make him retract a paper that he had sent forth. Unhappily for him, he appealed from the Archbishop to the King. The disgusting parade of a trial, in which poor Lambert was silenced by the learning and arguments of the King, his condemnation, and barbarous execution, all are too well known to need a repetition; nor would it have now been alluded to, but as a proof that at that time Cranmer pro-

fessed and maintained the papist's doctrine of the eucharist.

Bonner, about this time, was elected as successor to the Bishop of Hereford. He had early been sent to Rome to plead the King's cause before the Pope, Clement, but did it with such imprudent zeal, that the Holy Father threatened to throw him into a caldron of boiling lead, and he was glad to make his escape. Soon after his promotion, it became evident to Cranmer that he favored the Catholic cause.

The birth of an heir to the English crown, on the 12th of October, 1537, produced an extravagant joy in the feelings of the King. For eight-and-twenty years he had been looking forward to a successor in the male line. The Queen scarcely lived long enough to participate in the general joy, or to comprehend the ecstatic feelings of a mother. She died a few hours after the birth of her son.

Of Jane, little seems to be said in history, except that her conduct was full of meekness and discretion. Happily for herself, she did not live long to try the constancy of her royal spouse.

The name of Edward was given to the Prince at his baptism. Archbishop Cranmer, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Lady Mary, were his spon-

sors. The Lady Elizabeth at that time was but little over four years old. A letter of hers is recorded by Strype. But there appears to be but little evidence that it was wholly indited by a child.

CHAPTER VIII.

THERE is no period in Cranmer's life, in which his resolute and unwearied efforts were more faithfully exerted, than in his endeavour to, convert the spoils of religious houses to the purposes of learning and benevolence. Those noble buildings which have since become the residence of owls and bats, might, had the Archbishop's voice been listened to, have afforded shelter to the sick and houseless, or have been converted into colleges and hospitals. But these required the funds, which Henry had otherwise appropriated. The picturesque ruins of many an ancient building, overgrown with ivy, and desolate in its beauty, remain to tell the story of royal cupidity, and to furnish a study to the artist.

The Pope, once more, had recourse to excommunication, and declared the King guilty of atrocious crimes, inviting the Scottish monarch to take possession of the British throne. But the thunder of the Vatican communicated as little terror to the English nation, as if it had been the music of the spheres ; and the flashes of its light-

ning were as harmless as the aurora borealis of a winter evening.

Except by Cranmer, the interests of the Reformation were feebly promoted. Cromwell was regarded with disdain by the aristocracy, and usually styled, by way of contempt, "the blacksmith's son." His own character had not that imposing power that puts down oblique slanders. He was useful to the King and unscrupulous ; but Henry treated him with little deference. Bishop Latimer, though fervent and sincere, was wholly ignorant of character, and often excited ridicule by his ill-timed zeal and simplicity. His sermons sometimes lasted three hours, and Cranmer took occasion to admonish him on their length, as also to inculcate worldly wisdom. Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, was greatly deficient in discretion, and was continually engaged in disputes with the reformed clergy, when unanimity was all-important to the cause. Bonner had been promoted to the prelacy, and at the time Cranmer fully relied upon him as a coöperator in the cause of Scriptural truth. But he was no sooner fixed in his elevated station, than he threw off the mask.

A revolution in the sentiments of the King became manifest. A new Parliament was assembled. After long debate it ended in proposing six articles for consideration.

1st. Whether the real body of Christ was

present in the eucharist, without any transubstantiation.

2d. Whether that sacrament should be administered in both kinds to the laity.

3d. Whether the vows of chastity, made by men or women, are binding by the law of God.

4th. Whether the same law warrants the celebration of private masses.

5th. Whether it allows the marriage of priests.

6th. Whether it makes auricular confession necessary.

Against the Romish interpretation of these articles, Cranmer contended with unabated zeal. All the powers of his mind, and all the resolution of his character, were brought to the contest. Nothing could exceed the heat of the debate.

Henry at length appeared in person, and perceiving that the eloquent opposition of Cranmer could not be checked, he commanded him to absent himself from the house.

Cranmer firmly but respectfully refused to comply. "It is God's cause," said he, "that keeps me here ; not my own."

Henry yielded the point, to the astonishment of all.

There can be no greater tribute to the virtue of Cranmer, than the respect he always commanded from the despotic and overbearing monarch.

The six articles were adopted in their fullest extent, and the most horrible penalties attached to their non-observance. Latimer and Shaxton testified their abhorrence of this measure by resigning. For a moment, it must shake our faith in Cranmer's virtue, to find that he did not do the same. But there is every reason to suppose, that he realized that the future success or downfall of the Protestant cause rested on his continuance at his post. He must have still felt, that, though he was not consulted by Henry on religious affairs, as formerly, yet his influence was great with him, and he might do much towards promoting the reformed doctrines. We doubt not that he saw the murderous scourge uplifted, and hoped, in some measure, to avert its fury.

The exultation of the Catholics could not fail of being great. Henry, they said, was fast returning to the true faith, — to the arms of the mother Church.

The dejection of the reformers was in the same proportion. But Cranmer, over and above the blight thus given to the restoration of Scriptural Christianity, had reason to mourn over the destruction of his domestic happiness. After his precipitate and injudicious marriage with the niece of Osiander, he did not venture to bring her to England, but left her to the painful suspense of a temporary separation. His wife, who seems to

have been a second Meta, and possessed the tenderness and truth of the excellent Klopstock's, acquiesced in a measure that he convinced her was the wisest, and remained in Germany, with her uncle, still pursuing her household occupations, and lightening the arduous cares that must otherwise have pressed upon him.

The income of a German pastor barely supplied the necessaries of life. They were like the early patriarchs, without the rich flocks of Jacob and of Laban. Their pastures, "green to the very door" of the dwelling, domesticated the animals with the family. The humble peasant was welcome to their meals, and the poor mendicant to its frugal fragments. The *time* of the minister was his treasure, and this he freely dispensed to the sorrowful, the sick, and the dying. A large portion, however, was reserved for his literary pursuits. Every sincere Protestant felt himself bound to aid the cause of Luther and the Reformation by his pen, and Meta, by taking the secular cares of the little parsonage upon herself, indirectly aided the cause. While Osiander was deeply engaged in polemic works, the wife of the Primate of England was performing the humblest household duties.

The time, however, arrived, when Cranmer thought it safe to send for her to England, as some suppose, with the connivance of the King. At

any rate, he did not publicly acknowledge her, but lived with her in great harmony, and they had several children.

The late act of the six articles, which struck directly at the marriage of the Clergy, determined the Archbishop to send her immediately back with his children to Germany. He had most zealously and daringly opposed the bill; Strype says, on account of the cruel penalties which guarded it. His refusing to quit the Court, when ordered to by the King, filled every one with astonishment. His friends and enemies fully expected that he would be committed to the Tower. On the contrary, the King seems to have felt for the distress of the Archbishop.

If there was one redeeming point in Henry's nature, it was his faithful attachment to a man, whose virtue was unquestionable. Henry, with the caprice and lightness with which he mixed up all affairs, immediately declared his intention of dining the next day at Lambeth with the Archbishop, and invited the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Essex, and all the peers of Parliament. He loved to create these surprises among his courtiers, and disappoint their expectations.

"My Lord Archbishop," said Essex, "you were born in a happy hour. You can do nothing amiss. Were I to do half of what you have done, my head must answer for it."

We at times have attributed to Cranmer a pliancy to the King's purposes, that evinces a want of firmness and resolution, perhaps more the deficiency of nature than of principle. This observation, however, of Essex, proves the independent ground which he often took. The visit to Lambeth, the King conceived, would effectually obviate the impression that many entertained of Cranmer's declining favor.

However comfortable to the Archbishop must have been the assurance of the King's good graces, we can easily believe he would willingly have dispensed with this demonstration of it. The melancholy conviction was just forced upon him, that Henry was returning to "the idolatry of his youth," and that he must part with a beloved wife to secure her safety. Weary and irksome must have been the festivity to which the King had invited his peers.

After they had assembled, Norfolk arose and signified to the Primate the King's pleasure, that they should comfort him with the assurance that the good will of his Majesty was unimpaired towards him; that he had shown great learning and skill in the opposition, and he must not be discouraged or cast down at the unsuccessful result.

Cranmer professed himself deeply grateful for this mark of royal condescension, and replied

with dignity, that he hoped the time might arrive when his allegations and authorities would prevail, to the glory of God, and the commodity of the realm.

It was said of Cardinal Wolsey, that, "by the violence of his temper in managing a debate, he would often change his friends into enemies. Whereas the Archbishop, by his mildness, made his enemies friends."

Whatever became a law of the land, Cranmer seems to have made it a principle to submit to, however earnestly he had in the first place opposed it. He now felt that duty required him to sacrifice his domestic happiness to one of the six articles, the celibacy of the priesthood, by sending his wife and children to Germany; and the King no sooner heard of this circumstance, than he sent a kind and consoling message to him by Cromwell, the vicar-general.

Another important step was taken, wholly subversive of English liberty. Parliament gave to Henry's proclamations the force of law. He had only to issue them without convening the Parliament. This made him despotic.

The age of tilts and tournaments was past with Henry, but he determined to celebrate his triumph over the Court of Rome by a naval exhibition on the Thames. Who was the contriver of this exhibition has not come down to us, but

probably, from its character, Henry was the suggester.

Two galleys, splendidly equipped and decorated, one with the royal, the other with the pontifical arms, were seen approaching each other by a numerous crowd of spectators. A stubborn conflict ensued. The Pope and Cardinals were seated in full view on the deck. At first, the royal flag seemed in some peril ; but suddenly the royalists were seen boarding their antagonist, and in a few moments the Pope and different Cardinals were successively thrown into the water, amidst the acclamations of the King, the Court, and the citizens.

Well might a French writer say, it was “*un jeu de pauvre grace, et de moindre invention.*” We can hardly imagine a less ingenious exhibition of royal dignity.

Some time had elapsed since Henry became a widower, and he began to think of taking another Queen. After much debate, he was prevailed on by Cromwell to fix his views upon Anne of Cleves. The King had greatly increased in size as he advanced in life, and he now stipulated that the partner of his throne should not be inferior to him in size.

This match was particularly gratifying to the Protestant party, as Anne's sister had married the Elector of Saxony, and her father had great

influence among the Lutheran princes. Cranmer saw that this might produce a favorable effect upon the reformed religion, and, of course, advised to the marriage.

By the diligence of Cromwell, a picture of Anne, painted by Hans Holbein, was obtained for the monarch. With this he was so much enchanted, that he became extremely impatient for the nuptials. Anne was sent by her father to England, and Henry's eagerness to behold his bride was so great, that he went privately to Rochester to get sight of her. He found her *big* to his heart's content, but wholly unlike the flattered portrait by Hans Holbein.

The disappointment and indignation of the King surpassed all bounds. It was necessary, however, that he should throw off his disguise, and make himself known. He certainly was in no state to "nourish that love," for which the disguise was assumed. Her features were coarse, her manners ungraceful, and her figure ill proportioned. When she was introduced to him, he shrunk back; but on her bending the knee, he raised her up and kissed her, but did not enter into any conversation. After a short time he retired to his own apartment, and, sending for the lords who had accompanied him, bemoaned his miserable lot.

The next morning he hastened back to Green-

wich, without soliciting an interview with the Princess, and sent for Cromwell, telling him, he must show as much dexterity in getting rid of Anne as he had in bringing her.

Cromwell was really perplexed; and, in the first place, waited on the princess, and secretly insinuating that so many charms must have been an object of contention, endeavoured to inveigle her into a confession of former engagements. The Princess, however, protested with great simplicity, that nothing of the kind had occurred, and that she came with a willing mind.

The King, not being able to conjure up any excuse, and afraid of adding the German princes to his already numerous enemies, passionately exclaimed, "Is there, then, no remedy? Must I put my neck into the noose?"

As there was no alternative, the ceremony took place.

Upon further acquaintance, she did not win upon her royal husband. She spoke only German, possessed no accomplishments, and was wholly unlike what he desired. How to get rid of her, became now the King's object; and another Parliament was called. It is said that Cranmer presided over it.

What was the ground of divorce, it is difficult to decide; but the most prominent reason was, that the King had never given his *internal consent*.

Cromwell had hitherto maintained his place in Henry's favor, and had even been promoted to high honors. But symptoms soon appeared after the King's marriage with Anne of Cleves, that the reign of the courtier was near its end. Probably his agency in the marriage was a crime in the mind of the tyrannical monarch.

But, added to this, a new flame was kindling in the heart of Henry. Catharine Howard had become the object of his affections ; and Catharine was niece to the Duke of Norfolk, the inveterate enemy of Cromwell, and easily became an agent in producing his disgrace.

While the divorce was in agitation, Norfolk obtained a commission from the King to arrest Cromwell on an accusation of high treason, and convey him to the Tower. Without trial, examination, or evidence, he was condemned to death. His fall occasioned great rejoicing to Gardiner, the Bishop of Winchester, as well as to many others. He had been greatly instrumental in the destruction of the religious houses ; and those, who had before flattered and crouched to him, now exulted and triumphed. His faults seem to have been less than most men's to whom were intrusted such high offices in the reign of Henry the Eighth, who had a wonderful power of rendering subservient to his will all around him. Cranmer wrote a letter to the King in behalf of

his ally, but it met with no success. Cromwell at first endeavoured to soften the King by supplications for mercy ; but, when brought to the place of execution, he met his fate with calmness. Thus died the faithful servant and friend of Wolsey.

After the marriage with Anne was annulled, Catharine Howard was raised to the throne in the same year, 1540.

Anne seems to have acquiesced patiently in the decision. Probably she returned the King's aversion most heartily. When he offered to adopt her as a sister, and to make a settlement of three thousand pounds, she readily accepted it, and continued to live at Court, with the new Queen and Henry's daughter.

It seemed now to be generally expected that Cranmer's disgrace was near. He had dared to intercede for Cromwell, even with earnestness. "I pray God," he says in his letter, "continually, night and day, to send such a counsellor in his place whom your Grace may trust." "If he be a traitor, I am sorry I ever trusted him, and am glad that his treason is discovered in time. Alas ! I bewail your Grace herein, for I know not whom your Grace may trust." He says, he knows none who can and will serve his Grace like him.

Cranmer stood now almost alone ; yet it does

not appear that he yielded to the discouragement of his situation. The six articles had operated on all classes, and were continually bringing to the stake and the scaffold, martyrs of every description. The friends to papal authority were arrested and condemned for denying the supremacy of the King; the opposers of the Pope for denying the doctrine of the real presence; in short, Henry had contrived to supply martyrs, till judges, jailers, and executioners were weary of their work.

Articles were now brought forward by the Romanists, and offered to Cranmer for his approbation, probably thinking this was a suitable time to intimidate him. They represented to him, that the King was determined on the adoption of these articles, and warned him to avoid the fate of Cromwell by any opposition. They undoubtedly relied on the flexibility of Cranmer's character when the will of the King was made known. But in this instance he had a higher reference, — the truth. "Beware," said he, "what you do. The truth is but one; and, though the King is now *under sinister information*, the truth will not long be hidden from him."

Still they persevered, and determined that such articles should be published as would effectually reestablish the Roman Catholic dominion, with its forms and ceremonies, to which, they

were aware, the King was in his heart attached, still scrupulously guarding the title bestowed upon him by Leo the Tenth, "Defender of the Faith."

Perhaps this was the first time in the Archbishop's life that he determined to resist to the death. We have seen him wanting resolution in cases, which, to us, have appeared important; but distant events come to us under a misty atmosphere, and historians possess no power of diffusing unclouded sunshine. We rejoice, that here, at least, he requires no interpreter. When he found the ark, that he had so long watched over, in danger, regardless of the imperious will of the King, of the machinations of the Romanists, and of the persuasions of those who had hitherto been friendly to the Protestant cause, alone and unshielded, except by what he styled the armour of truth, the prelate forced his way to the presence of the King, to the monarch whose nod was fate. Even Luther would have looked approvingly upon a self-abandonment so entire, to the cause of truth.

It must be remembered that Cranmer had none of the constitutional courage or enthusiasm of the Saxon reformer. He was a man composed of milder elements. Luther was formed to stem or guide the whirlwind; Cranmer stood aside to let it pass, and then strove with

patient industry to repair the ruins it had caused, and build up the fallen edifices. It was no hardship to Luther to go forth to the battle ; it was consistent with the ardour of his nature. Cranmer shrunk from warfare, and all opposition in him to the will of the King arose from unmixed principle.

The frowns of the monarch at Cranmer's intrusion, were decisive in the minds of his adversaries. With a cold, suppressed manner that was portentous, he merely desired the primate to draw up such articles as he was willing to subscribe to. Cranmer set himself at once about it. In the mean time, his enemies exulted, and many wagers were laid in London that he would be committed to the Tower, and share the fate of Cromwell. What, then, was their astonishment, when they found that the King had not only endured his opposition, but adopted his articles !

The reflection cannot but arise to the mind, that, perhaps, had he taken the same decided ground in the case of Anne Boleyn, her life might have been spared. This, however, is wholly doubtful ; and there were still greater public interests at stake than the life of an individual, the vital existence of religious truth. Cranmer acquired his power over Henry by the wisdom, prudence, and forbearance of his counsels.

A new antagonist to the Archbishop had

sprung up, in Bonner, Bishop of London. Cromwell was his patron and friend, and, while he lived, he had promoted the reformation ; but it now became evident, that he meant to pursue a different course. The free reading of the Scriptures he represented as giving rise to a multitude of opinions, hostile to true religion, and represented to the King that the very Bible which had been prepared in France, under his own patronage and protection, should be suppressed. It had been reprinted in England, enriched by a noble preface by Cranmer, and was issued in a large folio by the name of "Cranmer's Bible." This representation so far prevailed, that the public perusal of the Scriptures was suppressed, and never again permitted during Henry the Eighth's reign.

The Cathedral of Canterbury was solemnly restored, under the auspices of Cranmer, from the monastic state of a priory, into a deanery. This was about 1540. After the removal of the monks, the next object of Cranmer was to attach a grammar school to the Cathedral. It is amusing to observe the aristocratic notions that at that time prevailed. It was insisted that the children of mechanics and ploughmen should be excluded, and only gentlemen's sons admitted. The Archbishop strenuously opposed this idea. He made use of the same arguments that occur at the present day. He said, that, though there must be la-

boring men, they ought to have the advantages of education, and not be deprived of the chance of emerging from a state of indigence and drudgery ; that we had no right to defraud the public of the powers which God had distributed among the lower, as well as the more exalted classes of society. "If the gentleman's son," said the enlightened prelate, "be apt for learning, let him be admitted ; if *not* apt, let the poor man's child that *is* apt be admitted in his room." *

We now are called to contemplate the Archbishop in a new situation, which, were it not so intimately connected with his biography, we should gladly pass over.

Henry appears to have been perfectly attached to his new Queen, Catharine Howard. He determined to make known his piety and domestic happiness together, and, on All-Saints day, received the sacrament in the royal chapel at Hampton Court. This seems to have been done to afford him an opportunity of proclaiming his conjugal felicity, and returning thanks to Almighty God for bestowing on him the blessing of so admirable and virtuous a Queen.

Catharine knelt by his side, probably in perfect security. Had any inquietude disturbed her mind, from the recollection of past events, it was

* Strype's "Memorials of Cranmer."

now removed, and her station on the throne firmly fixed.

Lady Rochfort, the enemy of Anne Boleyn and her own husband, and now the intimate friend and companion of the Queen, partook in her elevation. If her accusations of the unfortunate Anne were false, where was now the retribution of Heaven? She had stood firm for years, and at last risen with the present Queen to royal favor.

The august ceremony over, the King and his consort, with Lady Rochfort, retired, followed by the envy of the multitude. The next morning it was Cranmer's appalling task to inform his Majesty, that the Queen was wholly unworthy of her high station!

Again we pause over the office of the Archbishop. Must the horrid tale be told, and the throne again be deluged with blood? In modern times, though all the world might have whispered it, we think no one would have risked his *own life* by directly divulging it to the party concerned. The guilt of Catharine was imparted to Cranmer in a manner that left no uncertainty. She might be, and was, quite good enough for the monarch; but the British throne was a station that called for high and unblemished virtue. Cranmer had no choice; what others dared not do, he *dared*, and wrote to the King, revealing

the horrible tale. There was a fair investigation, and Catharine, and Lady Rochfort, her abettor and probably her corrupter, were led to the block in 1542.

Because we do not see the lightning or hear the thunder of heaven to-day, shall we believe that it is powerless? To-morrow is ever near. What must have been this guilty woman's sensations, when doomed to suffer the death of her victim, Anne Boleyn?

CHAPTER IX.

It is not remarkable that the struggle should have continued unabated between the ancient and the reformed principles, for Henry's sentiments were precisely calculated to keep it alive. It must be confessed, too, that there was a strange mixture of notions in Cranmer's theology. It was, as yet, but the twilight of reform ; but it was morning twilight, and gradually approaching day, while the Scriptures were open to the community ; but, after the royal injunction was issued, that " the Scriptures should not generally be read by laymen, and the King's Book be substituted for it, which contained every thing necessary for a Christian man to know, and that the King and policy of the realm restrained the reading of the sacred volume," we must consider the clouds as again obscuring the horizon.

Some months had passed since the Archbishop had held a visitation at his diocese of Canterbury. When he went, he was greatly distressed to find what progress had been made in restoring the ancient superstitions, such as ringing bells to still the thunder and drive away devils, and various

other follies. The Carnival was celebrated, in all its extravagance, with maskers, &c. He immediately assembled the prebendaries and preachers in his consistory, and exhorted and reasoned with them, and reproved them. He endeavoured to convince them, that *image* and *idol* bore the same signification, — one being Greek, the other Latin. It does not appear that his representations had the desired effect. He then proceeded to appoint six preachers, three Catholic and three Protestant divines. This measure, instead of restoring peace, introduced so much discord, that Cranmer was obliged to declare that it was the King's pleasure that it should be so.

Amidst the commotions that agitated the religious world, secular affairs were not forgotten. It began to be rumored that Henry had determined to raise a sixth wife to the honor of the throne. This proved to be Catharine Parr, the widow of Lord Latimer. This connexion was favorable to the reform, as she was known to lean towards those doctrines. She was a woman of fine accomplishments and great knowledge of human nature, and often dexterously flattered Henry by a slight opposition to his opinions, and allowing herself afterwards to be silenced, if not convinced. Probably she secretly exerted her influence with the King in mitigating the severity of the six articles.

Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, began to fear, that, by the aid of the Queen and Cranmer, his own efforts might be frustrated ; he determined, therefore, to strike a decisive blow at the primate. For this purpose, he, with the aid of several others, contrived a plot to ruin the Archbishop in the King's favor. A regular scheme was organized, and many private meetings were held. They drew up a long set of charges against him, which they knew would be most offensive to the King, such as accusing Cranmer of oppressing all preachers who refused to promote the new doctrine, and of holding a constant correspondence with the heretics of Germany. When the articles of accusation were completed, they were delivered to the Council, and afterwards deposited in the hands of the King.

It does not appear that Henry was a weak monarch, except where his passions bore sway. His Majesty read the papers carefully and thoughtfully, and then, addressing the Chancellor, said ; " I command you to see the witnesses ; let them speak boldly and fearlessly of things that come within their knowledge, fearing none but God and the King."

It occurred to the mind of Henry, that Gardiner had been detected in plotting against some others of the Court a few days before, and he conceived a strong suspicion that the Bishop was

the instigator of these accusations. There can be no more decided evidence, that the monarch began already to heartily dislike Gardiner, than these suspicions ; indeed, he had never treated him with much deference, though often influenced by his opinions. After debating with himself the best manner of proceeding, he ordered his barge, and determined to proceed to Lambeth, and take the articles of accusation with him. He concealed the book in the loose hanging sleeves of his dress. Gardiner and his confederates, who were constantly on the watch, were now exulting at what they believed the success of their conspiracy.

When the King's barge neared the steps by the water-side at Lambeth, the Primate immediately made his appearance. The King called to him to come into the barge, and said, " O my chaplain, now I know who is the greatest heretic in Kent. Look at these papers, and see the names of the Kentish ministers against their diocesan."

Cranmer took the book, opened it, and read the names of members of his own church, of magistrates whom he had treated with kindness, and believed his fast friends. He looked at the King with agitation and surprise, but grief and sorrow were the prevailing emotions. Kneeling

before the King, he requested and urged an immediate trial.

“I implore your Majesty,” said he, “to let the whole affair be at once investigated by a commission.”

“That it shall be,” said Henry, “and I now name the Archbishop of Canterbury as commissioner, with such colleagues as he himself shall be pleased to appoint.”

“Nay, Sire,” replied Cranmer, “let not your Highness give cause for the imputation of partiality. I demand only a fair hearing and a fair investigation.”

The King persisted in his determination, and gave to the Primate the unpleasant task of unravelling the plot against himself; a painful and somewhat undignified office for the prelate, as his innocence might have been as effectually established without his agency. But Henry delighted in torturing, as well as condemning, his victims.

One of the conspirators proved to be a man by the name of Thornden. He was formerly a monk of Canterbury, and was afterwards made Bishop of Dover. The Archbishop had taken pains to do away all unpleasant recollections, had invited him to his own table, and treated him like a son; and he it was, who was now conspiring against the honor and reputation of his benefactor. The whole affair was soon laid open, every indi-

vidual concerned in it detected, and the King left them to the mercy of the Archbishop, only saying, that burning was too mild a punishment.

The Primate received from all the most humble petitions for mercy, (the Bishop of Winchester affected to have been too much engaged to attend seriously to the accusations); the prebendary Gardiner, a relation of the Bishop's; with Thornden and Barber, on whom Cranmer had settled a pension, actually crawled to the feet of the Primate, having previously besought his forgiveness in a letter, styling him "most honorable father."

The Primate ordered them to rise, stated to them, in a mild and dignified manner, the injustice and perfidy of which they had been guilty towards him, and then proceeded to pass sentence. This was a full and complete pardon.

Some of the courtiers, overcome with surprise, exclaimed, "Do my Lord of Canterbury a *shrewd* turn, and he is your friend for life."

The Viceroy of Naples, in the month of December, was about visiting England. Cranmer, on his embassy several years before, had received much kindness from him and his friends. The Archbishop was gratified at an opportunity of returning these civilities, and made all necessary preparations for the Viceroy and his suite to remain with him at Canterbury.

Cranmer, desirous, for the honor of the King,

that nothing should be wanting to his reception, departed in some measure from the usual plainness of his style to make welcome the Neapolitan. A few nights before his arrival, and after the palace had been made ready for the distinguished guest, the cry of fire was heard, and the building was instantly in flames. The confusion and terror were great ; it was vain attempting to save any article of furniture. The books of the Archbishop and such papers as he had with him were burnt. But scarce had he breathed after his own escape, when a tale of horror was announced to him ; his brother-in-law had fallen a victim to the flames. The distress and deep depression of the Archbishop, for some time unfitted him for any exertion.

Hitherto the King had lived harmoniously with his Queen. His infirmities and ill health required devoted attention. Catharine performed every office for him with the utmost cheerfulness, and, though his irritability and ill temper made him an object of terror to all about him, she remained continually at her post. As the King preserved his fondness for theological discussions, he sometimes proposed questions to her of high import. At one time, the earnestness of her feelings led her to oppose his opinions with zeal and argument. Henry's brow grew clouded, and he dismissed her from his presence, and sent for Gardiner.

The Bishop found him in a state of great excitement.

"Dost thou know," said the angry monarch, "that we have been bearded to our face?"

"What means your Majesty?" exclaimed Gardiner.

"It is even so, and by a woman; one that we have raised to share our throne and honors. She has this day proved herself a rank heretic, and deserving of fire and fagot."

"Can it be, Sire, your most noble Queen, the partner of your glory, that has thus forgotten herself?" exclaimed the prelate. "Alas! I feared that she had sometimes overlooked her duty to you, in the zeal with which she has espoused the opinions of the Archbishop. In truth, my Lord of Canterbury is *well minded* to make *converts of the Queens of England*; but I little thought she would have presumed to express her heretical opinions to the Head of the Church and Defender of the Faith."

"What said you of my Lord of Canterbury?" said Henry, his face convulsed with passion.

Gardiner trembled; for well he knew Henry bore no allusion, however remote, to Anne Boleyn, and thunderbolts were launched indiscriminately around him.

"I remarked to your Majesty," said Gardiner, "that, if Cranmer had made a convert of the

Queen of England, the more elevated the person, the greater was the crime."

"Thou art right," said the monarch.

"By chastising one whom your Majesty has hitherto loaded with favors, the greater will be the terror, and the more glorious the sacrifice."

"It is even so," said Henry; "order Wristhesly to draw up articles of impeachment."

"Nothing but death can atone for such temerity," exclaimed Gardiner; "against whom is the bill to be made out?"

"Catharine, Queen of England," replied the King.

The Bishop of Winchester started with surprise, for he aimed at Cranmer. Again the Archbishop had escaped his snares. But he hoped that Cranmer might be the next victim.

Catharine knew her royal consort too well not to feel that she had grievously offended him. Wristhesly drew up the paper; but, fearing the capricious temper of Henry, brought the instrument to him to be signed, as it was high treason to throw slander upon the Queen. As he left the royal presence, he accidentally dropped the paper, which was picked up by one of the Queen's friends. Wristhesly returned for it, but not before the contents had been discovered. They were immediately communicated to the Queen.

Catharine saw at once her danger, and that it

was only by stratagem she could avoid the evil. She had no generous foe to deal with, but a cruel, selfish tyrant. When the hour for her attendance came, she went as usual to the King's apartment, and began performing the offices of a nurse. Probably Henry's wrath had somewhat abated ; for, while she was busy on her knees before him, engaged in menial services, he renewed the conversation, and challenged her to an argument.

"Nay, my Lord," said she with humility, "it would ill become me to argue with your Majesty. I know too well my place. Women, by their creation, were made subject to men. Adam was first created in his kingly glory, the image of his maker ; then Eve was created the image of her husband. In all cases, it is the duty of the wife to adopt implicitly the sentiments of her husband. But how much is it mine, who am blessed with a husband who is the Head of the Church ? who is not only qualified to choose principles for his own family, but for every nation, and who is justly styled the Head of the Church and Defender of the Faith ?"

As Catharine proceeded, the countenance of Henry grew more serene, and, by the time she ended, few husbands could have worn a more satisfied expression. Still, however, he exclaimed, "Not so ! by Saint Mary, you are become a

doctor, Kate ; and better fitted to give than to receive instruction."

"Good my Lord," replied Catharine, "do not scoff at your poor wife by giving her praise she so poorly deserves. I consider it my duty not to decline any conversation your Majesty may graciously please to suggest. Indeed, I sometimes try, by my feeble opposition, to provoke you to further remarks, when I perceive you are disposed to drop the topic ; knowing, full well, that not a sentence can fall from your lips, from which I shall not reap profit and instruction."

"Is it so, sweetheart ?" said he ; "nay, then, let us embrace and be friends. Depend upon it, Kate, no one shall injure thee while thou hast such a docile and teachable mind, and such true love and reverence for thy husband."

The next day the Chancellor came to escort her to the Tower, pursuant to the King's warrant. Henry was walking in the garden, leaning on the arm of his consort, for he walked with difficulty. He moved to a little distance and spoke low to the Chancellor, but at length seemed to fall into one of his furious fits of passion, calling him knave, fool, and beast, in a loud voice, and ordering him to quit his presence. The astonished Chancellor, with his forty pursuivants, stood aghast. Catharine, who perfectly understood the scene, now gently approached.

"Let me intercede with your Majesty for this poor man," said she, "who has had the misfortune to displease you!"

"Nay, poor soul," replied the King, "you know not how ill entitled is '*this poor man*' to your good offices."

From this time, Catharine took care to act the part of a prudent and exemplary wife, and never to contradict her husband.

Hitherto all plots against Cranmer had rebounded against the contrivers. But the mitigation of the severity of the six articles, (which may be found in Strype's and Burnet's Histories,) was too obviously the work of the Archbishop for his enemies to forgive. To counteract the operations of the King, had been at all times a perilous undertaking. But he had become by bodily infirmity, more passionate and arbitrary than ever. The voice of truth seldom reached his ear. The six *bloody articles*, as they were sometimes called, and sometimes the *six-lashed scourge*, were peculiarly the work of his own hands, and had the singular merit of including Protestants and Catholics in the same punishment. The Protestants who denied the real presence of Christ in the bread and wine, and refused to believe that it was his body they literally ate, and his blood they drank, and the Catholics who devoutly and conscientiously believed this, but still

maintained the supremacy of the Pope, were both placed on the same hurdle and carried to the stake.

Cranmer had been promised the aid of four bishops in the opposition ; but when it came to the crisis, they all deserted him, and the Archbishop stood alone to brave the storm. He did not shrink from it ; firmly and undauntedly he stood the conflict with the Popish party, who felt that they had the support of the King ; yet, notwithstanding, such was the strength of his influence, that an act of Parliament followed, mitigating the rigor of the articles. It may be well to mention what this mitigation was, as the articles themselves remained the same. No man was to be put on trial for any offence against either of the articles, but upon the oath of twelve men ; the presentment should be made within one year after the offence committed ; no person should be arrested for any such offence before he should be indicted ; and, lastly, any accusation for speaking or reading in opposition to the articles should be preferred within forty days of the alleged delinquency. It will easily be understood, that persecution lost some of its power by the necessary delay.

A new accusation was soon brought against the Archbishop by Sir John Gostwick, a Catholic. He complained, that Cranmer had spoken hereti-

cally on the sacrament. It so happened that he was a stranger, and had never heard a sermon from the Archbishop. If the King had had any desire to convict him, this would not have weighed against the accuser ; but Cranmer still stood high in his favor, and his indignation knew no bounds.

" Tell that *varlet* Gostwick," said he, " that he has played a villanous part, to abuse, in open Parliament, the Primate of the realm. If he does not immediately ask pardon of my Lord of Canterbury, I will make him the poorest Gostwick that ever bore the name. What ! does he pretend, that he, being in Bedfordshire, could hear my Lord of Canterbury preaching in Kent ? "

Gostwick went with great haste to the Archbishop at Lambeth, and implored his pardon for so easily taking up with idle reports and expressed his apprehension that the King meant to make an example of him.

" I forgive you freely," said the Archbishop, " your offence towards myself, and will intercede with the King for a full pardon. But let me beg you to take up no more reports lightly. Slander is as foul an offence towards the poorest man of the realm, as to the Primate. "

The Archbishop was faithful to his promise, and interceded for Gostwick. It was some time before Henry was appeased. " What would they do with you, if I were gone ? " said he ; " the

bloodhounds are licking their teeth on the scent. Your seal, my Lord, shall henceforth be three pelicans, instead of three cranes ; for in truth you must be ready as the pelican is to shed your blood, if you stand thus firmly to your tackling in defence of your religion. When I am gone, they are likely to have a taste of your blood." From this time, the arms of Cranmer were three pelicans.

An English litany was about this time introduced. The invocation to the Virgin Mary was still preserved, the intercession of saints and angels implored, and a petition added for deliverance from the "Pope of Rome and his detestable enormities." No one doubted but the Primate was principally engaged in the work. Devotional exercises were added, compiled from Scripture, generally. This was an important advantage, but still the progress of reform was slow. Henry had imbibed but little of the true spirit of religion. On either side he considered it an engine of power, and determined to use it for his own supremacy. At the same time his opinions were continually fluctuating on what was considered essential at the time ; the only doctrine which he uniformly preserved was, the real presence, or the doctrine of transubstantiation.

It might be truly said, that, except the Primate, there was not a man calculated to lead the Reformation. At the time of Anne Boleyn's death,

Latimer, whom we have before mentioned, Bishop of Worcester, a man who possessed every Christian virtue, Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, and Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, were all favorable to the Reformation.

Latimer had the innocence of the dove, but none of the wily wisdom of the serpent. He had little knowledge of human nature in any sense. What people told him of their own characters he believed, because he considered truth as too important for any individual to depart from. This rendered him an easy mark for imposition with the bad, and an object of love and veneration for the good, but wholly incapable of comprehending the crooked paths of duplicity.

Bishop Shaxton, though well meaning, was suspicious and unamiable in his temper, his countenance stern, and his manner unbending. Those who went to ask counsel, often felt an invincible repugnance at receiving it, from the mode in which it was given. Instead of making converts to his opinions, he much oftener repulsed his hearers.

Bishop Barlow was a man of excellent sense and learning, perfectly natural in his manner, and admirable at a joke. The great essential of character he was deficient in, — judgment. His observations were often ill-timed, and his levity offensive. Cranmer feared to communicate to him many important plans; “for though,” he said,

“they are highly important for the diffusion of truth, you, brother Barlow, in half an hour, will make the world believe they are a jest.”

Such were the men, at the time of Anne's death, to whom alone the Primate could look for assistance. He stood in the most conspicuous place in the realm, surrounded by enemies. Nor was this all. Even those who had gone along with him in the doctrine of reform were continually weakening their cause by new tenets and diversity of opinion ; every one had his own creed. Some only wished to renounce the ceremonies of the Catholic Church and preserve its doctrines ; others, to preserve the ceremonies and reject the doctrines.

Amidst the confusion which must ever arise from a revolution of any kind, the Archbishop remained calm and determined. He redressed abuses as far as he had influence in other courts as well as his own, gave up many of his fees, and obliged his officers to retrench theirs, abolished the excessive number of holydays, and actually sat down to a hot supper on the eve of Saint Thomas of Canterbury.

So far from being surprised that reform made not more rapid strides under these circumstances, we may wonder that it did not stand still. For its progress seemed to rest wholly on the strength of one man.

CHAPTER X.

It does not appear that the enemies of Cranmer were disheartened by the failure of the last plot. A complaint was laid before the King by certain members of his Council, "that the Archbishop and his learned men had so infected the whole realm with their unsavoury doctrine, that three parts out of four in the land were abominable heretics."

It was well known how tenacious Henry was of being considered favorable to the religion of his forefathers, and how earnestly he professed that he was no friend to the new opinions. Yet he granted advantages to the Protestants when his pride or interest was concerned.

The suit of the petitioners took hold of these prevailing traits of his character. They first insinuated that the Primate had inculcated the idea that the King was in his heart a heretic. Out of pure regard to the safety of his Majesty, and the peace of the realm, they petitioned that the Primate might be committed to the Tower. "This preliminary measure is absolutely necessary," said they, "for, as long as he is left at liberty, no mortal

will dare to utter a syllable against him. Let him once be in confinement, and men will dare to come forward, his secret machinations will be revealed, and his Majesty's counsellors enabled to search out the truth."

In reply to this statement his Majesty said ; " I am favored in having such trusty advisers to watch over the peace of the realm. I commission you to summon the Archbishop to-morrow, and then, if we see fit, we will order him into custody."

It was eleven at night before the King determined in what manner to act. He then despatched Sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth with an order that Cranmer should instantly attend him at Westminster.

He arrived late at night at Lambeth, and found the inhabitants of the palace buried in sleep. The habits of the Archbishop were uniform, and the hour of retirement early, both for himself and his household. Such an unusual summons must have filled him with surprise. He arose from his bed and repaired to the King, whom he found traversing the gallery in great apparent agitation.

" You have come," said his Majesty, " to hear serious charges against yourself, alleged by the Council. They demand that you shall be committed to the Tower, and I have acceded to their request."

“As it pleaseth your Majesty,” said Cranmer ;
“I am in all respects willing to be committed to the Tower, only humbly intreating that I may be permitted to face my accusers, and defend myself against them.”

“O Lord God !” said Henry, bursting forth with an impetuosity he was unable to restrain, “what simplicity is yours, to submit to an imprisonment that must end in your ruin ! Do you not know, that, no sooner than you shall be in the Tower, false knaves will instantly come forward to arraign you, who, if you were at liberty, would not dare to show their faces ? No, no ; not so, my Lord of Canterbury. Go you to the Council to-morrow, and, when you appear before them, demand to be confronted with your accusers. Should there be a moment’s hesitation, produce this ring ; the sight of it will instantly bring the matter before me.”

With a mind harassed by anxiety, and the consciousness of enemies ready to spring upon him, the Archbishop, after a sleepless night, at eight o’clock was in attendance upon the Council.

The men who had solicited his imprisonment, were sitting in divan discussing the articles of his impeachment. When told he was in waiting, there was a luxury in humiliating the Primate that added to the expected triumph. “Let him wait our leisure,” was the universal sentiment.

The Archbishop found himself in the ante-room, surrounded by lackeys and serving-men, waiting the orders of their masters. It was a spectacle worth looking at for its novelty, and many a one stopped to gaze upon the Primate as he passed. There was one, however, that did not look upon him with sentiments of triumph or of pity, but with indignation. This was Doctor Butts, the King's physician, who was on his morning errand to his Majesty. When he entered the royal apartment he said, "I have seen so strange a sight this morning, that I think it worth mentioning to your Majesty."

"What is it?" inquired the King.

"The first man in England is become a serving-man, and has been standing for an hour among his fellow-lackeys at the door of the Council-chamber."

"Ha! is it so?" exclaimed Henry; "the varlets! they shall hear of it before long."

Still, however, Henry remained quiet, to the surprise of Dr. Butts.

In the mean time, Cranmer waited till he was summoned to the Council-chamber. The complaint was made in rude terms. He listened with meekness, and required that his accusers might be called into his presence and confronted with him. The just request was made in vain. "No, my Lord," was the reply; "we have liberty to com-

mit you immediately to the Tower ; then, justify yourself if you can."

Cranmer, finding his request unheeded, drew from his bosom a ring and handed it to them.

It was the King's ! The august assembly were thrown into the greatest agitation, while Lord Russell exclaimed ; " Said I not true, my Lords, that the King would never endure that my Lord of Canterbury should be impeached and disgraced for less than high treason ? "

The matter was now immediately before the King. " I thought," said Henry, " that I had a discreet Council. But what am I to say now ? Is my Lord of Canterbury a slave, that you should keep him at the door of your chamber like a serving-man ? What would you say, if an indignity like this were offered to any of you ? I fully believe that the realm of England contains not a more faithful subject than I have ever found in my Lord of Canterbury, and he that pretends attachment to me, must show respect and honor to him."

It was in vain they apologized and explained. The wrath of Henry was not easily appeased. They assured the King, that they only wished the Archbishop committed to the Tower that he might come forth from his confinement with augmented reputation and glory.

" Is it even so ? " said Henry sarcastically.

“Think ye that I do not see the malice of your motives, that which sets you one against another? that I do not discern how the world goeth among ye? I counsel you, let this be avoided out of hand, and never again let my friends receive such usage as this at your hands.”

With these words he left them. The scene that followed was too disgusting to describe, — an exhibition of the low propensities of human nature. The men who had hoped to bring Cranmer to the scaffold, now crowded round him, congratulated him “on having such convincing testimonies of his innocence, and besought him to harbour no enmity towards them.” The placable Archbishop accepted their apologies, and the King, who was well satisfied with his own exhibition of power, and the success of the little farce he had planned, desired the Primate to invite them to dine at Lambeth palace.

Thus ended a deep-laid plot, of which we have only given the results, but which may be studied out in historical works.

A new cause of complaint against Cranmer was now brought before the King. He was continually accused of being mean and avaricious. Sir John Seymour represented the arrangement of the Archbishop's household, as wholly inconsistent with his high station. “The revenues of the Primacy,” said he, “are no longer devoted

to purposes of benevolence or hospitality. The love of money has become the ruling passion of the prelate. To *hoard* is his great work, and his table is unworthily furnished for the first man in the realm."

Soon after, the King despatched Seymour with a message to the Archbishop about the hour of dinner. As soon as he entered, Cranmer arose, and, in a courteous manner, requested him to take a seat at the table. Even Sir John was obliged to acknowledge, on his return to the monarch, that he believed the slander was wholly without foundation. That a noble provision was every day made for accidental guests, and for the poor dependents of the church.

It may not be amiss here, to mention the habits and arrangements of the Archbishop. Every day three tables were spread in the dining hall. First, the Archbishop's table. At this were seated all the distinguished guests, not only people of wealth, and high rank, but men eminent for their virtue and learning, whom Cranmer believed to be the true nobility of England. Then came the almoner's table. This was furnished in a style little inferior to the first. At this, sat the chaplains, and those of his household who ranked below Bishops and Abbots. After these came the steward's table, at which sat promiscuous guests and dependents.

That this style was truly irksome to Cranmer, there is no doubt ; but hospitality he considered a duty, and a noble and expensively furnished table was one of the virtues of the day.

For his own habits, there is the best authority. His first principle was, economy of time ; nor could he have accomplished all he did, without it. He rose at five o'clock in the morning, and went immediately to his study. This, till nine, he considered as exclusively his own time, and would not suffer himself to be interrupted unless for unavoidable claims. At nine, he breakfasted sparingly, and then admitted those who wished to see him on private or public business. Eleven was the chapel hour of prayers, and his dinner hour twelve. After dinner he spent an hour in recreation ; conversation and chess were his usual modes of passing this time. He then retired again to his study till the chapel bell rang, which was punctually at five. After evening prayers was his time for exercise ; he then walked till six, the hour of supper. When he came to the table from his walk, he often did not pull off his gloves, but took some slight refreshment and again resumed his exercise of walking. At eight, he retired to his study, and at nine went to bed. As he wrote a great deal, he accustomed himself to write standing, and often read in this posture. This he considered particularly conducive to

health, and sitting peculiarly injurious. His library was filled with a choice collection of books, and was open to all men of letters. In this respect he showed the utmost liberality.

When we contrast Cranmer's mode of life with Wolsey's, we have an illustration of the character of the two men, that is important. It may be conjectured that Wolsey's habits of expense and dissipation were often recurred to by the King, and called forth his honorable testimony for Cranmer. When Cranmer proposed regulating the tables of the clergy, the King at once assented. The regulations published on the occasion ordered, that an Archbishop's table should not exceed six divers kinds of flesh, or as many of fish on fish days. A Bishop's should not exceed five ; a Dean's four ; and none under that degree should exceed three. For a second course an Archbishop was allowed four dishes, a bishop three, and all others two. The second course usually consisted of custards, tarts, fritters, cheese, and fruit. If any inferior entertained a superior, he might enlarge his entertainment according to his discretion. If an Archbishop or ecclesiastic entertained an ambassador, the diet need not be limited. It was, however, understood, that there should not be more than one, of any large fowl, such as cranes, turkeys, and swans, in a dish ; but of woodcocks, pheasants, or small-

er birds, there might be two or three. The same regulations extended to fish ; of haddock, pike, or tench, only one in a dish ; but of the very small ones, the number might be increased.

About this time he instituted a hospital at his manor-house of Beckesburn in Kent. This was one of the most noble charities of the period, and proves that the Archbishop was greatly in advance of the times. He had vainly urged, that some of the monasteries should be turned into hospitals for wounded and disbanded soldiers, who often had no asylum. But, when he found he could effect nothing by representations, he not only gave up the manor-house, but appointed a physician, a surgeon, nurses, and every thing proper, as well for food as for medicine. There, the soldier who had fought the hard battles of his country, and who often returned wanting a leg or an arm, and sick and desolate, was carefully attended, and, on his recovery, was furnished with money to carry him home, in proportion to the distance.

It would hardly be justice to the spirit of the times to pass over the history of Anne Askew, the daughter of Sir William Askew, of Kelsay, in Lincolnshire. This young lady early discovered a taste for books, and acquired the habit of thinking and investigating for herself. In the beautiful secluded spot of her native place she

passed the early years of her life, and drank philosophy at those fountains which refresh and invigorate the mind. A Bible accidentally fell into her hands, which she carefully concealed. It was her greatest treasure. Some of Luther's works had found their way to her curious and inquiring mind, and she embraced with ardor the doctrine of reform.

Such a woman was indeed rare in those days, and, had it not been for her uncommon beauty, she would probably have been allowed the quiet possession of her pursuits and opinions. But Mr. Kyne, a visiter to her father, was captivated by her charms, and contrived to make warm friends of her parents.

Almost by compulsion she consented to marry him. Her reward was tyranny and oppression. He was a bigoted Catholic, and repeatedly drove her from his house ; and, not understanding the elevation of her character, persecuted her with petty cruelties, till, unable any longer to endure them, she fled to the Court of Henry the Eighth, told the story of her wrongs, and solicited a divorce. Many of the ladies of the Court were deeply interested for her, Queen Catharine (Parr) among the rest. The similarity of their opinions produced an intimate intercourse. This excited a degree of envy. Anne was little acquainted with the intrigues of a court, and easily induced by artful people to relate observations of the

Queen's favoring the Reformation. She was immediately arrested and conveyed to the Tower; and at the same time Shaxton, who had been Bishop of Salisbury, with whom she was much acquainted. When questioned as to her faith, she boldly declared it, and that she renounced the old sacramental doctrine.

In the mean time, Shaxton, unable to withstand the prospect of being burned, recanted his heretical opinions. He was then admitted to an interview with Anne, for the purpose of persuading her to do as he had done. She calmly replied; "Death can come but once, and, when the breath ceases, it is over; but he, who lives in infamy, dies a slow death, before the fire of his own conscience! O my Lord, it were good for you, if you had never been born!"

When questioned with regard to the Queen, her fidelity was not to be tempted. She resolutely refused to acknowledge any word that could cast a shadow of reproach upon her, and probably it saved the life of Catharine, as the slightest deviation from Henry's opinions would have been fatal to her.

How shall we go on with the mournful story. She was hunted like a wild beast, and her delicate and beautifully proportioned form stretched on the rack while she was yet in prison, the Lord High-Chancellor of England not only witnessing

the deed, but even assisting with his own hand in stretching the engine !

No severities, no torments changed her lofty and high-toned character. When carried to the stake, she was unable to stand, from the dislocation of her limbs. As a refinement of cruelty, Shaxton was placed in a pulpit to address her. She met the flames which curled round her without a shriek or a groan, at the age of twenty-six !

We can with difficulty give credence to this history. It seems to be cruelty without an adequate motive. We must endeavour to place ourselves in that barbarous period, when human life seemed to be considered of little importance, when the stake and the scaffold were spectacles familiar to the eye. Yet even then we must turn with horror from men who could execute such a deed, and search for a motive powerful enough to make it credible.

During former cruelties of Henry's reign, many were condemned to the stake for heresy, but none without more plausible motives than those alleged against Anne Askew. We are tempted to believe there must have been some underplot, some secret revenge connected with her early marriage, which sealed her doom.

From the time of her arrest to that of her execution she was urged to make a recantation of her opinions ; but she listened with a serious

smile to such proposals, and, while long homilies were read to her, composed prayers and hymns which she afterwards wrote down.

It was a great source of grief to Cranmer, that the Bible was laid under such restrictions that they almost annihilated the use of it. Both Tyn-dal's and Coverdale's new translations of the Testament were prohibited, and the English books of Wiclif and Frith, the earliest reformers, suppressed. Still, however, the Archbishop continued to effect all in his power, and his patience and perseverance were truly remarkable.

But the close of Henry's life was evidently drawing near. He had grown so large and unwieldy, that he could no longer go up or down stairs, but was let down and drawn up by an engine. Bodily disease made him intolerable in his temper, so that every one who approached him did it with fear. More than once Cranmer interfered to shield Mary from her father's anger. Henry seems to have very well understood her disposition, and feared she might cause trouble to his successor, the young Edward.

At length his suspicions found a point on which to rest. The Earl of Surrey, son to the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Treasurer of England, was a young man of great wit and learning; his manners were refined and graceful, his deportment noble and commanding. He had passed

much of his time on the continent, and acquired a degree of gallantry in his deportment towards women, that was scarcely understood in England. A lover of the fine arts, accomplished in the literature of the day, an adept in music, and performing himself with the grace of an amateur and the precision of an artist, he became the "glass of fashion" to the young. At every masque and tournament he was the hero. His lance and his pen were equally successful. His romantic gallantry flowed in madrigals and sonnets, and he stood forth one of the troubadours of the earlier ages. When Boulogne was taken by Henry, the young Earl, then scarcely at the age of manhood, was left governor of the place. Led away by the impetuosity and bravery of his natural temperament, he ventured upon some rencounters with the French, which proved unsuccessful, and the King sent over Hertford to command in his place, ordering Surrey to resign.

The young man did not take this affront meekly, and, when Hertford offered him his daughter in marriage, he waved the proposal. He had already selected the lady of his love, and this manner of negotiating an alliance, even if his heart had been disengaged, was wholly opposed to his chivalrous feelings. He returned to the English Court, and was even so imprudent as to utter his indignation aloud at what he conceived to be un-

just treatment. When there, he laid aside the pomp of arms, and threw open his house to people of rank and distinguished foreigners. Among these were Italians, a nation hateful to the King, and constantly the object of his suspicions. He always believed them to be in concert with his ancient enemy, Cardinal Pole, and employed as spies. Another evil under which Surrey labored, arose from his relationship to Catharine Howard, which operated as a secret cause of disgust to the King.

The Earl was wholly unapprized of these existing prejudices against him, and bore himself with a nobility of demeanor that was reported to the King by his enemies. Henry was now confined to his room, irascible and overbearing ; all the evil passions of his nature forming his torment and punishment. The echoes, which occasionally met his ear, of the elegance, accomplishments, and deportment of Surrey, were operating like poison upon his mind, and he conceived, or pretended to entertain, the absurd suspicion that the Earl aspired to the hand of the Princess Mary, and meant to dispute the succession of Edward to the crown, and secure it to himself.

While these things were brewing in the King's mind, and adding to the torture of severe bodily disease, the unconscious Surrey was preparing a splendid entertainment in honor of the princess

Mary. All the decorations of taste and art were collected, and it was more than suspected, that the professed object of the *fête* had signified her willingness that it should be given. Never had the rigid muscles of Mary's face more benignantly relaxed than on this occasion. Surrey was not wanting in any of the attentions of a *preux chevalier*; he danced, he sang, and knelt to the Princess, but his eye perpetually wandered to one light and graceful form in the distant group. When their eyes met, it was observed by Pasquil, his Italian jester, that "his hand moved to his heart." This was the true object of his affection; and well she deserved it. With a natural love for all that was beautiful and cultivated, she had singled out Surrey from her troop of admirers, and caught the inspiration of his genius. Never were two hearts more in unison, and a long life of similar pursuits, of elegant literature, and of domestic and conjugal faith, rose in perspective.

The next morning, by order of the King, the Earl was arraigned for high treason. His trial took place in Guild-hall, in London, before the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Mayor, and other commissioners. The chief accusation against him was assuming the arms of Edward the Confessor. He fully proved that these were justified by the sanction of the King's heralds.

Sir Richard Southwell was confronted with

him, and charged him with having uttered disloyal words. Surrey denied them, and desired to be admitted to fight him, according to martial law. This was not permitted. He defended himself with a keen wit and undaunted spirit, often confounding his adversaries. At length a witness was brought against him, who deposed, that, in reply to an observation of Surrey's, he had said at the time, "My Lord, this is high treason."

The Earl folded his arms, and looking at him with ineffable contempt, replied ; "I leave it to the jury to decide, whether the Earl of Surrey would suffer this man to speak such words to him, without felling him to the earth."

He uniformly pleaded not guilty, and his eye never for a moment lost its undaunted courage. The jury (a common inquest, not of the peers) condemned him, judgment of death was given, and he was conveyed to the Tower. When he arrived there, he found that his father, the Duke of Norfolk, had been also committed on the charge of high treason.

The evening preceding the execution of Surrey, a young page was admitted to his cell by the keeper, on condition that the interview should last but fifteen minutes, and himself be present. It mattered not to the parties who was there ; it was one long, one last embrace. The same spirit animated both ; a spirit of undying constancy and

truth. The last words they uttered when they parted were, "For a moment of suffering on earth, an eternity of happiness in heaven."

The next day, in the grey twilight of the morning, the elegant, the accomplished, the envied Earl of Surrey, was beheaded on Tower-hill !

His father, the Duke of Norfolk, still remained in prison. His goods and lands had been seized. He possessed not the undaunted spirit of his son, but wrote an abject letter to the King, and made the humblest submissions. How would the indignant eye of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, have flashed, had he heard his father accuse him of high treason, for the sake of purchasing the worthless remnant of his own days, — *he*, who, in the pride and dignity of manhood, with all the fair promises of life and love clustering round him, had disdained to sue for clemency to the hard-hearted tyrant.

Cranmer, though no friend of Norfolk, — for they were in opposite parties, and the Primate considered him as using all his influence against the Reformation, — seems to have been filled with just indignation at these proceedings, and boldly said he would have no hand in such a prosecution. Without consulting any one, he retired to his seat at Croyden.

The King's illness rapidly increased, but no sentiments of compassion for the Duke of Norfolk softened his heart. He sent to the Parliament to hasten their work, on pretence that there must be a new Earl Marshal, to install his son Prince of Wales. The obsequious Parliament obeyed his directions, and sent to the King, for his royal assent, the bill condemning Norfolk. With a trembling and eager hand, the King affixed his signature. It was then the 28th of the month. A short time after this exertion, an evident change took place. Every one present believed him to be dying, but no one dared to give him any intimation of his situation.

At length, Sir Anthony Denny arrived, and plainly told him that his end was drawing near. Henry received the intelligence with calmness ; said he knew he had been a great sinner, but trusted in the mercies of Christ. He then requested Cranmer might be sent for. Before the Archbishop arrived, the King was speechless. Cranmer requested him to make some sign that he died in Christian faith. He squeezed his hand and expired, on the 28th day of January, the very day on which he had assented to Norfolk's death, and signed the instrument. The life of the Duke was thus saved, and Henry called to render his last account for the deeds he had done and purposed.

The sun arose upon his lifeless corpse, the hand was still and motionless that had signed the death-warrant of Norfolk, for that day a *mightier* had signed his own !

CHAPTER XI.

THE Archbishop deeply felt the death of the King. To *him* alone in the world, Henry seems to have shown uniform and consistent kindness. The very vices of his character, to which Cranmer's loyalty could not wholly blind him, made his death more solemn and affecting. In Edward, he beheld not only the successor of the King, but a child for whom he had watched and prayed. He had stood sponsor at his birth, and this, to the Archbishop, was no idle ceremony. He felt now that he was answerable for all he had promised, and his tenderness towards the young King was expressed in the very tones in which he spoke of him or to him. He immediately petitioned, "that, as he had exercised the authority of an Archbishop during the reign of the former King, so, that authority ending with his life, it would please the present King Edward to commit unto him that power again." That this was done to afford an example of the King's ecclesiastical jurisdiction there can be no doubt, as he strongly maintained the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical as well as secular affairs.

The day after Henry's death, his will was read. He bequeathed the crown to Prince Edward and his issue ; but, in case of his death without any issue, to Mary and Elizabeth, and, in default of their issue, to the heirs of his nieces, Frances and Eleanor, daughters of his sister Mary, late Queen of France. His own daughters were to forfeit their right of succession, should they marry without the consent of the privy council ; and his sister, the Scottish Queen, with her issue was wholly cut off from the succession.

One of Cranmer's first exercises of episcopal power was the coronation of the young King. Nine years before, the Archbishop had received him in his arms, a new born babe. He had much reason then, from his own experience, to view him as born into a world of trouble and sorrow. Now he was about to place upon his head a kingly crown, which to too many had proved a crown of thorns.

The ceremony was to be performed in Westminster Abbey, where, " First, There was a goodly stage richly hanged round with cloth of gold and cloth of arras. Two and twenty steps led from the choir ; and down to the high altar but fifteen steps, goodly carpetted, where the King's Grace should tread with his nobles.

" Secondly, The high altar was richly garnished with costly jewels and ornaments of much es-

timation and value. And also the tombs on either side the high altar, richly hanged with fine gold of arras.

“ Thirdly, in the midst of the stage was a goodly thing made of seven steps of height all around, where the King’s Majesty’s chair royal stood ; and he sat therein after he was crowned, all the mass-while.

“ Fourthly, At nine of the clock all Westminster choire was in their copes and three goodly crosses before them ; and after them other three goodly rich crosses, and the King’s chappel with his children, following all in scarlet, with surplices and copes on their backs. And after them ten bishops in scarlet, with their rochets, and rich copes on their backs, and their mitres on their heads, did set forth at the west door of Westminster towards the King’s palace, there to receive his Grace ; and my Lord of Canterbury with his cross before him alone, and his mitre on his head, And so past forth in order, as before is said. And within a certain space after were certain blew cloths laid abroad in the church floor against the King’s coming, and so all the palace, even to York place.”

Then is described the “ setting forward from Westminster church to his coronation, unction, and confirmation.”

“ After all the Lords in order had kneeled

down and kissed his Grace's right foot, and after held their hands between his Grace's hands, and kissed his Grace's left cheek, and so did their homage ; then began a mass of the Holy Ghost by my Lord of Canterbury, with good singing in the choir, and organs playing. There at offering-time his grace offered to the altar a pound of gold, a loaf of bread, and a chalice of wine. Then, after the levation of the mass, there was read by my Lord Chancellor, in presence of all the nobles, a general pardon granted by Henry the Eighth, father to our liege Lord the King, that all shall be pardoned that have offended before the 28th day of January last past.

“ When the King's Majesty, with his nobles, came to the place of coronation, within a while after, his Grace was removed into a chair of crimson velvet, and borne in the chair between two noblemen, unto the north side of the stage and shewed to the people ; and these words spoken to the people by my Lord of Canterbury ;

“ ‘ Sirs ; here I present unto you King Edward, the rightful inheritor to the crown of this realm. Wherefore all ye, that be come this day to do your homage service and bounden duty, be ye willing to do the same ? ’

“ To the which all the people cried with a loud voice and said, ‘ Yea, yea, yea ’ ; and cried ‘ King Edward ! ’ and prayed ‘ God save King Edward ! ’

And so to the south side in like manner, and to the east side and to the west side.

“ After this, his Grace was again borne to the high altar in his chair, and there sat bare-headed. And all his nobles and peers of the realm were about his Grace, and my Lord of Canterbury principal. And there made certain prayers and godly psalms over his Grace ; and the choire answered with goodly singing, the organs playing and trumpets blowing. Then, after a certain unction, blessing, and signing of his Grace, he was borne into a place by the high altar, where the Kings always use to kneel at the levation of the Parliament-mass. And there his Grace was made ready of new garments ; and after a certain space brought forth between two noblemen, and sat before the high altar bare-headed. Then after a while his Grace was anointed in the breast, his soles of his feet, his elbows, his wrists of his hands, and his crown of his head, with virtuous prayer, said by the Bishop of Canterbury, and sung by the choire.

“ Then, anon after this, a goodly fair cloth of red tinsel gold was hung over his head ; and my Lord of Canterbury kneeling on his knees, and his Grace lying prostrate before the altar, anointed his back.

“ Then after this, my Lord of Canterbury arose and stood up, and the fair cloth taken away.

Then my Lord Protector, Duke of Somerset, held the crown in his hand a certain space ; and immediately after began *Te Deum*, with the organs going, the choire singing, and the trumpets playing in the battlement of the church. Then immediately after that, was the crown set on the King's Majesty's head by them two, (viz. Somerset and the Archbishop of Canterbury,) and after that another crown ; and so his Grace was crowned with three crowns."

We have copied thus far from Strype's "*Memorials of Cranmer*." To this is added a most excellent speech of the Archbishop. In Burnet's "*Collection of Records*" is the order for the coronation of King Edward, which was observed as above.

King Henry had undoubtedly supposed that the terror of his name would preserve an observance of his commands after his death. He little knew the human heart. Affection is the only preservative principle ; and, his son and Cranmer excepted, probably in all the kingdom he was regretted by none. He fixed the majority of the Prince at the completion of his eighteenth * year, and appointed sixteen executors. Cranmer was the first. They all met immediately, and, strange as it may seem, agreed to name a Protector in

* So says Hume. Smollet says, his fifteenth year.

defiance of Henry's will. The choice fell on the Earl of Hertford, who was the King's uncle.

The friends of the Reformation no longer found it necessary to suppress their sentiments. The Protector professed the same opinions as Cranmer, and the young Edward's mind and character had been formed by the Archbishop and his preceptor Dr. Coxe, who embraced the Protestant principles.

Gardiner, who had so long been an active enemy to reform, was not named in Henry's will as an executor ; but his spirit was unbroken, and he immediately adopted active measures to preserve the worship of saints and images, and the use of holy water.

We may now, perhaps, for the first time that we have known Cranmer, view him as acting for himself. Hitherto, he had been cramped by his own sense of duty to the royal authority. Nor can we help supposing that a certain unconscious terror had often influenced him in his intercourse with Henry. All men are not equally daring, nor can we bring them to the same standard of courage. Cranmer was a chosen instrument in promoting the Reformation, but the part that he acted was generally the defensive. This, as he was situated, was wise ; but, probably, had it not been so, he would never have had courage to act otherwise. He shrank from the savage ferocity

of the royal eye when inflamed with anger, and, it is to be feared, sometimes compromised his sense of justice with his obedience. Courage is a constitutional gift, perhaps more decidedly than any other. Let us hope, that now the royal restraint is removed which acted upon him like the fabled spells of old, we may see his mind and character asserting their true independence.

The first care of Cranmer was, to find out means to instruct the people in religion. He invited the Bishop of Winchester to join him in the investigation. This was done probably in consistency with the caution of his character, rather than in the hope of receiving aid.

Gardiner, as he could not but expect, refused his aid, requesting that all things appertaining to religion might remain during the King's minority as they were, and particularly desired the Archbishop to refrain from making homilies, a measure he well knew that he purposed.

When Cranmer found he could not persuade the Bishop of Winchester to join him, he began the work with such aid as he could find. Twelve homilies were immediately issued, and the paraphrase of Erasmus on the New Testament was translated into English. It is to the honor of Catharine Parr that a portion of this last work was translated during the life of Henry under her patronage. The remainder was not yet in readiness,

but the parts finished, which were the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, were put forth by Edward's authority ; and it was required, that every congregation should be supplied with a copy.

Gardiner strenuously opposed these measures, and made particular objection to the homilies that were written by the Archbishop. There is every reason to suppose that Gardiner as truly asserted his own convictions, as Cranmer did his ; but the times were altered, and Gardiner had now no weight of royalty to support his opinions. That there was a mixture of obstinacy and spleen in his opposition is obvious ; he greatly harassed the Archbishop by letters and observations. At length Cranmer told him, with a bitterness foreign to his nature, " that he liked nothing unless he did it himself, and that he disliked the homilies because he was not a counsellor."

The absence of the Protector, who had gone to Scotland on public affairs, gave Gardiner an opportunity of more fully opposing the measures of the Council, and he requested he might confront them together. To this they agreed, and the day was appointed. Gardiner entered, dressed with much neatness and elegance, according to his usual custom. He was received with courtesy by the Council, and Cranmer immediately entered into the argument.

“It is fully my opinion,” said Gardiner, “that it is not safe to make new stirs in religion. Nothing now ought to be done in church matters. As in a natural body rest without trouble confirms and strengthens, so in a Commonwealth trouble availeth and bringeth things to weakness. I speak moreover in consideration of your safety, my Lord of Canterbury. I would not answer for your life when such alterations shall be made.”

For a long time they argued patiently, but at length both sides growing extremely warm, the interview was concluded by a measure highly dishonorable to the Council. Gardiner was ordered to the Fleet prison.

We can hardly imagine a more disgraceful or impolitic act than this. They must have had but an imperfect idea of his character, if they expected to convert him by punishment or persecution. It was precisely what he needed to elevate him to the rank of a hero, and, as such, was, and has continued to be, regarded by Catholic historians.

After he had been some time in the Fleet, Cranmer was sent by the Council to confer with him and endeavour to make him submit without further opposition to the prevailing measures.

“I have come,” said the Archbishop with his usual mildness, “because I consider you a man meet to be called into the Council ; but, never-

theless, standing too much in obstinacy, and wearing more the appearance of obstinacy than zeal for the truth. The books, which are now to be issued, are intended more to work a reform in men's lives and conduct, than in their religious opinions."

"This might pass, my Lord," replied Gardiner, "if your Homilies were left out, particularly that on justification. The true sense of which is, 'We be justified by faith without all works of the law. Charity is a work of the law. *Ergo*, we are justified without charity.'"

"You pervert the meaning laid down," replied Cranmer, "which only tendeth to show the freedom of God's mercy, and that justification resteth with him alone."

"There are as many faults in this homily," said Gardiner sarcastically, "as I have been weeks in prison; and if you, my Lord of Canterbury, must needs travail in this matter, you must not expect us to believe that faith excludes charity in justification, unless you do it per force, and borrow prisons of the Protector. Then you may find some that will agree with you, as poor men kneel at Rome when the Bishop of Rome goeth by, or else are knocked on the head with a halbard. As to Erasmus's Paraphrase, I find things enough to condemn in that. Never was there a truer saying, than that he laid the eggs which

Luther hatched. And, of all the monstrous opinions that have arisen in the world, this book has been one of the most fruitful sources. I said to you, my Lord, and to the Council generally, that the malice and untruth which proceeded from Erasmus's pen was an abomination, and more especially the ignorance of the translator; and a charge of every parish to buy one thereby defrauding the realm of twenty thousand pounds, (of which I have made an estimate,) by the buyers and price of the book. It is for this cause I was sent to the Fleet, where, God knows, I have endured every hardship. I have been allowed neither barber nor physician, neither servant nor tailor, neither friend nor chaplain."

"Permit me, my Lord," replied Cranmer, "to state to you the grounds on which you were committed to the Fleet. It was your declaration that the King . . ."

"I recollect all that passed," said Gardiner vehemently, interrupting him.

The Archbishop, finding himself borne down by words, though not by argument, soon retired.

To Bonner, Bishop of London, the injunctions and Homilies were equally disagreeable; and, after opposition on his part, he, too, was committed to the Fleet.

CHAPTER XII.

WE now quit these arbitrary and injudicious proceedings for a time, and return to the young King.

Edward was, from his birth, an uncommon child. He early discovered remarkable thoughtfulness of character. It has often been mentioned, that once, when engaged in some childish amusement, and not able to reach an object which he desired, one of his companions placed a large Bible on the floor for him to step on; he carefully took it up, and said, with glistening eyes; "I don't want to play any more now." His observance of every rule in his education seemed to arise not so much from deference to his teachers, as from the just value he placed upon acquirements; and, while some of his young companions considered it great gain to evade a lesson, Edward perfectly comprehended that they were defrauding themselves. At eight years old he wrote Latin letters to his father, and also to the Archbishop, and Viscount Beauchamp, his uncle, afterwards Earl of Hertford. To Queen Cath-

arine Parr he also wrote in Latin. Jerome Cardan, an Italian, came to the court of England while Henry was living. Though a man of great learning, he seems to have been infected with the superstition of the times, and actually calculated the nativity of Edward. His testimony to the character of the young Prince is striking, as coming from a foreigner.

“ All the graces were in him. He had many tongues when he was yet but a child. Together with the English, his natural tongue, he had both Latin and French, nor was he ignorant of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish. But for the English, French, and Latin, he was exact in them, and apt to learn every thing. Nor was he ignorant of logic or the principles of natural philosophy, nor of music. The sweetness of his temper was such as became a mortal ; his gravity such as became the majesty of a King, and his disposition suitable to this high degree. In sum, that child was so bred, had such parts, was of such expectation, that he looked like a miracle of a man. These things are not spoken rhetorically, and beyond the truth, but are indeed short of it. He was a marvellous boy.”

He then goes on to mention questions that he asked him, and answers that he made, which show a surprising talent. Had this testimony been given during the life of Henry, we might have

doubted his sincerity. But it was after the death of both father and son, that this character was drawn.

“He began to love the liberal arts,” says Cardan, “before he knew them, and to love them before he could use them ; and in him there was such an attempt of nature, that not only England, but the world, has reason to lament his being snatched away. How truly is it said of such extraordinary persons, that their lives are short, and seldom do they come to be old ! He gave us an essay of virtue, though he did not like to give a pattern of it. When the gravity of a King was needful, he carried himself like an old man ; and yet he was always affable and gentle, as became his age. He played on the lute, he meddled in affairs of state, and, for bounty, he did in that emulate his father ; though *he*, even when he endeavoured to be too good, might appear to have been bad. But there was no ground for suspecting any such thing in the son, whose mind was cultivated by the study of philosophy.” *

Cardan lived to be old, and, after having been imprisoned at Bologna, retired to Rome and there ended his days. He was said to be eccentric and enthusiastic, as his character of Edward

* This sketch of Edward is copied from Burnet's “History of the Reformation.”

somewhat shows. When free from pain, he usually excited uneasy sensations by biting his lips, squeezing his fingers, &c. This, he said, relieved him, or changed the course of those violent sallies of imagination, and lively impressions of the brain, which disturbed the tranquillity and serene composure of his mind. Though poor, he was honorable in his dealings, and never committed any immoral action. It was a fact that he predicted the early death of Edward ; but this did not require supernatural skill to render it more than probable. He likewise cast his own nativity, and fixed the day of his death. When it drew near, he refused to eat, and thus fulfilled his prophecy. His works, which are numerous, were printed at Lyons, in 1663.

We have said, that it did not require supernatural skill to tremble for the life of the young Prince. There was that in the tones of his voice, in the clear and transparent hue of his complexion, in the lustrous brightness of his eye, that seemed more allied to a celestial than to an earthly nature.

The day on which Hertford was appointed Protector, Edward was informed of it in presence of the Council, and that it was done by unanimous agreement. He pulled off his cap, and bowing gracefully round, said ; “ We heartily thank you, my Lords, all ; and hereafter, in all

that ye shall have to do with us for any suit or causes, ye shall be heartily welcome."

The dignity, yet sweetness of his deportment, in a boy not quite ten, astonished every one. He spoke and conducted himself with perfect self-possession, not that which arises from an overweening sense of power, but from a mind fully conscious of the high office he was called to fill, and so absorbed in the sense of duty and responsibility as to forget himself. Yet there were times, when the light-hearted and innocent gayety of a child animated his boyish sports, when tops and marbles, hoops and balls, succeeded his hours of serious study. Then was his clear, musical voice, heard in the shout and laugh, that make the welkin ring. Then his light, agile form was first in those exercises that require activity of purpose, rather than animal strength and vigor. In these last, he early gave indications of debility, and often, after having won the prize for feats of activity, he would seat himself, panting and exhausted, at the foot of a tree, throw off his cap, and, while his curls clustered round his damp forehead, and his face was pale (for, alas, there was none of the animated glow of health,) from exhaustion, he would take his Virgil from his pocket, and replenish his mind while his frame was recruiting its powers.

Among his companions, royalty was forgotten.

They were fellow associates and equals. Nor would he permit any privilege to be given to himself which they did not share. Yet there was that in his deportment which restrained rudeness or riot. If his companions forgot themselves, he silently withdrew to a distance, and they felt at once that the spirit of love and purity was gone. The deference they paid to him was voluntary ; it was not given to the Prince, to the heir of Henry the Eighth, but to Edward, the loyal and rightful inheritor of the virtues of Jane Seymour, on whom seemed to have descended her sweetness and refinement. With her early death, Edward had naturally connected those tender and melancholy associations, that in such cases sometimes occur to a peculiarly sensitive and feeling child. She had died in giving birth to him, and he had an indefinite sense of responsibility resting upon him, that, as far as was possible, he was to make her place good, and keep alive her virtues. All that she numbered among her *poor*, he made his ; and his pocket-money was often expended in deeds of benevolence.

The discrimination of his mind between acting and feeling was very remarkable ; he early comprehended that good thoughts and resolutions were only valuable as they produced active results. On this account he was reserved as to his own emotions. They did not flow out spontane-

ously, as we usually see in childhood, and often in riper years. They were seeds that sprung up, and brought forth fruits. Had his disposition been less gentle and kind, this reserve might have been mistaken for pride or coldness. But his life was filled with good deeds, and no one could mistake any little peculiarities of manner. The questions which Cardan tells us he asked him in his fifteenth year, will give an idea of the philosophical turn of his mind. We are to remember that he was then a monarch, surrounded with regal splendor. How meekly he sat upon the throne, and how quietly he wore the crown, proves that he prized it lightly, when compared with the immortal one he sought to win.

"He asked me," said Cardan, "what was the subject of my books *de Rerum Varistate*, which I had dedicated to him. I answered, that in the first chapter, I gave the true cause of comets, which had long been inquired into, but was never found out before.

" 'What is it ? ' said he.

" I said, it was the concourse of the light of wandering stars.

" He answered, ' How can that be, since the stars move in different motions ? How comes it, that the comets are not soon dissipated, or do not move after them according to their different motions ? ' "

“ To this I answered ; they do move after them, but much quicker than they, by reason of the different aspect, as we see in a crystal, or when a rainbow rebounds from the wall ; for a little change makes a great difference of place.

“ But the King said, ‘ How can that be, where there is no subject to receive that light, as the wall is the subject for the rainbow ? ’ ”

“ To this I replied, that this was the milky way, or where many candles were lighted ; the middle place where their shining met, was white and clear.”

Lingard mentions deviations from the usual form of coronations when Edward was crowned. “ That the delicate health of the young King might not suffer from fatigue, the accustomed ceremony was considerably abridged, and, under pretence of respect for the laws and constitution of the realm, an important alteration was introduced into that part of the form which had been devised by our Saxon ancestors, to put the new sovereign in mind that he held this crown by the free choice of the nation. Hitherto, it had been the custom for the Archbishop, first to receive the King’s oath to preserve the liberties of the realm, and then to ask the people if they were willing to accept him, and obey him as their liege Lord. Now, the order was inverted ; and not only did the address to the people precede the

oath of the King, but in that very address they were reminded, that he held his crown by descent, and that it was their duty to submit to his rule. 'Sirs,' said the metropolitan, (Cranmer,) 'I here present King Edward, rightful and undoubted inheritor by the laws of God and man to the royal dignity and crown imperial of this realm, whose consecration, inunction, and coronation, is appointed by all the nobles and peers of the land to be this day. Will ye serve at this time, and give your good will and assents to the same consecration, inunction, and coronation, as by your duty of allegiance ye be bound to do?'"

We give this quotation from the Catholic historian, who appears to us generally candid and just. Nor do we doubt, that Cranmer, in consideration of the delicate health of the young King, might have omitted some of the usual forms. Instead of a sermon, he made a short and comprehensive address, the whole of which may be found in Strype's "Memorials of Cranmer." We only extract a few sentences, to show the character of it.

"The solemn rites of coronation have their ends and utility; yet neither direct force of necessity. They be good admonitions to put kings in mind of their duty to God, but no encreasement of their dignity, for they be God's anointed; not in respect of the oil which the Bishop

useth, but in consideration of their power, which is ordained ; of the sword, which is authorized ; of their persons, which are elected of God, and endued with the gifts of his spirit, for the better ruling and guiding the people.

“Your Majesty is God’s vicegerent, and Christ’s vicar within your own dominions, and to see, with your predecessor Josias, God truly worshipped and idolatry destroyed, the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome banished from your subjects, and images removed. These acts be the signs of a second Josias, who reformed the church of God in his days. You are to reward virtue, to revenge sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure peace, to repress violence, and to execute justice throughout your realms.

“For precedents on those kings who performed not these things, the Old Law shows how the Lord revenged his quarrel ; and on those kings who fulfilled these things he poured forth his blessings in abundance. For example, it is written of Josias, in the book of Kings, thus ; ‘Like unto him there was no King, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, according to all the law of Moses ; neither after him arose there any like him.’ This was to that prince a perpetual fame and dignity, to remain to the end of his days.”

Hitherto, there seems to have been no one

that, from his birth, had so entirely engaged the affection of Edward, as Cranmer. Young as the Prince was, he felt the influence of the Primate's good sense, while the tenderness and gentleness of his counsels supplied to him in some measure the place of a mother. The spring of filial affection, which rises in the heart, easily overflows. Edward's nature was one of love, and it was happy for him that such a man as the Archbishop was near him. Henry seems to have seen the influence he exercised over Edward, with complacency ; and, in naming him first among the sixteen counsellors, proved that he stood prominent in his mind.

The first meeting of the august body, as we have seen, changed the King's testament, and the Earl of Hertford was chosen Protector. This measure was opposed by one of them, Wriothesly, the inhuman torturer of Anne Askew. But it appeared obvious that a head was wanting to the body of counsellors, and the maternal uncle of the King, a man of unblemished character, was the most eligible. He was created Duke of Somerset, and under that title is universally known. This choice was perfectly in unison with Cranmer's views and wishes. Somerset was friendly to the Reformation, and the greatest friendship and harmony had existed between them.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE measures for the Reformation now went on for a time with little serious opposition. The spirit of Cranmer is manifest, particularly, in what was called the *royal visitation*, which was the step that first excited the impetuous opposition of the Bishop of Winchester. He saw in it a complete overthrow of the ancient faith, and a total abolition of the use of Catholic ordinances. With how little success he at this period opposed the measures of the reformers, has been seen. Cranmer, who acted by the authority of the Protector, and was the soul of the Protestant faith in England, was fully aware that Henry's system had been rather to increase his own power in opposition to the Pope, than to encourage the vital spirit of reform ; and he now seriously set about *building up*, as well as *pulling down*.

He was averse to all violent changes, and wished to effect them gradually. It was, therefore, a great object with him, to retain all the ancient forms that could be kept consistently with the new faith, and to establish a hierarchy, which, while it included that system of doctrine and dis-

cipline which he deemed the most pure and perfect, might be an effectual barrier against the Catholic religion, and yet keep alive those of its ceremonies which he considered harmless. It was on this principle, that the English hierarchy was formed, and, if the preservation of it is a proof of its excellence, as it has subsisted so many years without any essential change, we must allow its wisdom. The same argument, however, is used with perhaps equal force by the Catholics, in support of their ancient faith.

The first measure was the *visitation*, which consisted of a certain number of clergy and laity, who were to correct immoralities, to abolish the ancient superstitions among the dioceses of England, such as sprinkling their beds with holy water and using consecrated candles to drive away the Devil.

At the present day we may smile at the idea of removing superstition by authority. It melts away before the diffusion of knowledge. It was not the penal laws against witchcraft and necromancy, that brought them into disrepute. It was the light of intellect that made them ridiculous long before they were illegal.

While these measures were going on with the utmost steadiness and moderation, and all images preserved which had not been abused by idolatry, the Protector formed the project of uniting the

two kingdoms of Scotland and England, by the marriage of Mary, daughter of the Queen Dowager, sister of Henry, to the young King Edward.

The Queen Dowager's attachment to France, and her devotion to the Catholic religion, rendered this negotiation ineffectual ; and, as Somerset considered it an object of the highest political moment, he determined to woo for Edward by the force of arms. Every history of the two kingdoms gives a minute recital of the battles which took place, and which seemed to have no decisive result, except that of throwing the young Queen into the power of the French. She was betrothed to the Dauphin and sent to France.

Edward was yet too young to take any other interest in this negotiation than as an affair of the realm. If he had understood its true nature, and how intimately his future weal or woe might have been implicated in the success, even then his sensitive spirit might have hesitated. What sensations rise in the mind at the mention of the Scottish Queen, the beautiful, imprudent, and ill-fated Mary ! Ages have passed since her fate was consummated. Her fame has been blackened by enemies, her conduct censured by the cautious and the candid, and yet the cruel deed of the wise and successful Elizabeth is contemplated with sensations of horror and disgust. In her conduct towards her confiding relative she

proved herself the legitimate daughter of the murderer of her mother.

Although the Protector had failed in his project of uniting the two kingdoms, he obtained several victories over the Scots, and returned home covered with honors, and immediately called a Parliament.

There are few that meekly sustain the elevation of rank. The Duke seems to have been elated by his success, and made a foolish request to the young King, that he would grant him a patent allowing him to sit at his right hand on the throne. Edward willingly complied, and ordered a seat to be placed there for that purpose.

Slight as this concession seems, it was the cause of much ill will towards the Duke, who claimed (the Peers said) the same privileges as the blood royal.

Somerset passed several laws during this session that annulled much of the severity of former acts. Heresy, still, however, was considered a capital crime, and punished by burning.

Soon after the death of Henry the Eighth, his widow, Catharine Parr, married Lord Seymour, brother to the Protector. It was said that she had been attached to him before her marriage with the King. She certainly did not think it necessary to keep up much form on this occasion, as they were united immediately after her royal hus-

band's death. Seymour, Lord Admiral, was a man of great ambition, and boasted to his sister-in-law, the wife of the Protector, that his wife Catharine, held the first place in the realm. The Duchess of Somerset could by no means brook this idea, having fully believed that the first place belonged to herself, and immediately conceived the petty rivalry of a vain and foolish woman. Catharine was every way her superior, and entered but little into the heart-burnings that existed with her sister-in-law. Meanwhile the Duchess imprudently repeated the observations of Paget, the secretary of Somerset, who remarked, that Seymour was forming intrigues among the counselors, corrupting by presents the King's servants, and striving by excessive indulgence to win the affections of the monarch himself. There probably was foundation for these suspicions ; but the mild temper of Somerset made him overlook them, and the sudden death of Seymour's wife, the Queen Dowager, appeased the resentment of the Duchess by removing her rival.

For a time, all enmity seemed to have died away, till it was discovered that Seymour was trying to win the affections of Elizabeth, then in her sixteenth year. It is said she received him with complacency. But little weight, however, ought to be given to the slanders of a court, where, under the mask of courtesy, the worst pas-

sions are often in operation ; and, even admitting that the same fondness for admiration actuated her then, which she betrayed in later years, when Leicester and Essex received the fatal distinction of her favor, it was the slightest of all testimonies to his influence. The other charge, too, seems unimportant, of endeavouring to seduce the young King into his interests. Edward loved every one who discovered affection for him, and it was natural that both of his uncles should hold a high place in his regard.

The political charges against Seymour are of much stronger import, and such as could not be easily parried. He openly derided his brother's measures, and even went so far as to provide arms for his retainers, that they might be in readiness for rebellion. The Protector at first sought to convince him of the folly, and represented the ruin that must accrue to both from family divisions. But Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who was one of the Council, found it convenient for his own views to foment the difference between the brothers.

Somerset, for a long time, resisted all provocations that aimed only at himself ; and it was not till the public peace was endangered by Seymour's seditious measures, that he used his royal authority, and deprived him of the office of Admiral. Even then he offered to suspend all further pros-

ecution, if his brother would be cordially reconciled, and consent to retire to the country on a paternal estate which he offered to surrender to him.

Seymour received these conciliatory terms with the utmost indignation, and defied him to do his worst. Articles were then drawn up against him, and he was committed to the Tower, and, soon after, executed. There seems to have been informalities in his trial, the details of which are given in the first volume of "British State Trials." That the warrant was signed by his brother, fills us with horror ; and that Cranmer signed it, excites our indignation, though this was a necessary consequence of the other. The young King, when applied to on the occasion, appears to have considered it a subject which he could not fully comprehend, but one from which he turned with aversion. If the peace of the realm demanded decisive measures, it was not for him to avert the blow from his own private feelings. He therefore thanked the counsellors for their care of his safety, and commanded them "to do what was right without further molesting him ;" and when they still represented the necessity of punishment, he said, with an impatience that betokened his state of feeling, "No more, I pray you, my Lords, no more."

Alas ! that one so gentle, so full of peace and Christian love, should be called on to assent to such deeds. We are almost ready to hope and

believe, that an earthly crown will soon be exchanged for an immortal one.

Hugh Latimer, a man of the most amiable character, of uncommon learning, but almost childish simplicity, delivered a sermon at Westminster, on the 29th day of March. Seymour was beheaded on the 20th. This was published in the first edition of his sermons, but has since been omitted. It certainly does not do him much credit, and is more remarkable for its childish vituperation of Seymour, than for piety or good sense. One sentence only, from his seventh sermon, we quote.

“I have heard say, when that good Queene” (meaning Catharine Parr, his wife,) “that is gone, ordained in her house dayly prayer, both before none and after none, the Admyral gettes hym out of the waye, like a moule diggyng in the earth. He shall be Lot’s wyfe to me as long as I lyve. He was a covetous manne, an horrible covetous manne ; I woulde there were no mo in Englande : he was an ambitious man ; I woulde there were no mo in Englande : he was a sedicious man, a contemner of Commune Prayer ; I woulde there were no mo in Englande : he is gone, I woulde he had lefte none behind him.”

Soon after Henry’s death, the Archbishop sent for his wife, Anne, to return to him. The exact time is not known, as he did not openly brave the

law made by the late King, but she always lived much in retirement. This was consonant to her own taste, and Edward made ample provision for her and her children, adding to and confirming a former gift of his royal father's, which could not be alienated. It was not, however, till 1548, that the Parliament enacted a law, permitting the marriage of priests, yet, in the preamble, recommending it to them not to marry.

During this session, other important acts were passed. Cranmer had effected what he had so many years been patiently laboring for. The principal tenets and practices of the Catholic Church were nearly abolished, and the Reformation, as it stands in the Church of England, was adopted. The doctrine of the real presence was still, however, maintained, with great zeal by many. Bonner had been deprived of his See for this offence, and Gardiner, who had now recovered his liberty, maintaining this and other *heretic* doctrines, was sent to the Tower. The term *heretic* had wholly changed its meaning. Those were heretics who maintained the Popish articles, and this was one of the most important.

To effect a uniformity, however, in religious opinions, when the Bible was again opened to the laity, and their minds were suffered to act with freedom, was impossible. Though Cranmer and other Protestant divines had ventured to renounce

opinions sanctioned by ages, they considered their own the standard of right, and sought by penal measures to convince men of the *truth*.

A commission was made out for the Primate, and those he should appoint, to examine and search for heretics who should refuse the Book of Common Prayer, now the established faith. In the execution of this commission, they were not bound to observe the common judicial laws ; they might impose whatever penances they pleased, condemn or absolve as they saw fit, imprison and deliver over to the secular arm. Thus was Cranmer constituted at once *Grand Inquisitor*. Happily his temper made this power less terrible than might have been feared. Many were brought before him whom he dismissed, not choosing to consider their heresy fatal to the cause of religion, or else persuading them to such abjurations of their opinions as satisfied his own conscience.

But there was one woman who was so pertinacious, that the commissioners could obtain no concessions. This was the memorable Joan Booker, of Kent. Her opinions seem to have no clear definition, and might have been suffered to pass as the ravings of a maniac. Cranmer, after trying hard to convince her, pronounced against her a sentence of excommunication, and she was delivered over to the secular arm.

This case had, from accidental circumstances,

been brought more particularly before the young King, than others had been. Though yet a child, compared to the learned men about him, he refused to sign the mandate for her execution, and she remained in prison a year. During that time she was visited by Cranmer, and by Ridley, Bishop of London. But she adhered inflexibly to her opinion, "that Christ was not flesh, and that our Saviour had a fantastical body."

Some historians have endeavoured to prove, that Cranmer had no part in condemning this unfortunate woman to the stake ; but it is too well known that he used every argument with the young King to persuade him, that it was a necessary act, and to induce him to set his hand to the warrant.

Let us imagine the scene for a moment. Cranmer, invested with all the authority of the Church, the chosen counsellor of Edward's father, the man whom he loved and revered and whose purity and benevolence had been fully proved, stood before the princely boy, so young, so gentle, and, hitherto, so obedient. He offers him the pen, which Edward rejects with his hand, while he averts his eyes from the fatal and murderous warrant. Cranmer reasons and urges, pleads the necessity of punishing such obstinate error by death, and that, painful and agonizing to him as was this deed, nothing short of it could permanently se-

cure the truth from violation. The venerable form of the Primate becomes agitated under the strength of his own emotion. There is a convincing power in sincerity, and Cranmer spake from the conviction of his own soul. "My Lord," said he, "I urge you to this measure with bitterness and anguish."

Still Edward resists.

"If there is sin in this deed," continues the Archbishop, "it will rest on my head. Were this merely an error, it might pass ; but it is denying the Apostles' Creed ; it is impiety against God, which you, as God's deputy, are bound to repress."

Edward takes the pen again offered to him. The tears which had stood in his eyes course down his cheeks.

"Be it so, then. If there is sin, it rests on you ; for God knows how unwillingly I sign this warrant."

The deed is done ! and the poor, ignorant enthusiast is burned at the stake.

Bitterly must the friends of Cranmer lament this decision of the darkest bigotry. Hitherto, in errors that have most tried our veneration for the prelate, we have seen him fettered by his sense of loyalty, or yielding from necessity to the laws of the land. But we here behold him acting for himself, with perfect deliberation, and

urging his beloved pupil to a deed of blood. We can only repeat a sentence from his own Litany ;

“ Remember not, Lord, our offences, nor the offences of our forefathers ; neither take Thou vengeance of our sins : spare us, good Lord, spare thy people.”

CHAPTER XIV.

WHILE these scenes were passing, Edward seems to have been perfecting himself in learning and Christian graces. His original journal, in his own hand, is preserved in the Cottonian library. It begins the first year of his reign, and seems to be a narration of events which passed at the time. It may be interesting to transcribe a short account of an entertainment, in June, 1549.

“ I went to Deptford, being bidden to supper by Lord Clinton ; where, before supper, I saw certain men standing upon one end of a boat, without holding of any thing, and ran one at another, till one was cast into the water. At supper Monsieur Vicedam and Henandie supped with me. After supper, there was made a fort upon a great lighter on the Thames, which had three walls, and a watch-tower, in the midst of which Mr. Winter was captain, with forty or fifty other soldiers in yellow and black. To the fort also appertained a gallery of yellow color, with men and ammunition in it for defence of the castle. Wherefore there came four pinnaces with their men in white, handsomely dressed ; which,

intending to give assault to the castle, first drove away the pinnace, and after, with clods, squibs, canes of fire-darts made for the nonce, and bombards, assaulted the castle ; and at last came with their pieces and burst the outer walls of the castle, beating them off the castle into the second ward, who after issued out and drove away the pinnaces, sinking one of them, out of which, all the men in it, being more than twenty, leaped out and swam upon the Thames. Then came the Admiral of the Navy, with three other pinnaces, and won the castle by assault, and burst the top of it down, and took the Captain and under Captain. Then the Admiral went forth to take the yellow ship, and at length clasped with her, took her, and assaulted also her top, and won it also by compulsion, and so returned home."

It is observable, that in this and other parts of his journal, there is no mention of himself as the object of the entertainments. He appears to consider himself like the other spectators, rather than as the King of a great nation, for whom they were made. The remarkable simplicity of this diary, recording only events, is striking. Seldom does he appear as an actor in the scene. His own opinions, or emotions, are never introduced. How unlike the egotism of youth !

The journal continues ;

" April. A challenge made by me, that I,

with sixteen of my chamber, should run at base, shoot, run at the ring with seventeen of my servants, gentlemen of the Court."

The first day of the challenge at base or running, the King won. "I lost the challenge of shooting at rounds, and won at rovers."

Throughout the journal there are slight allusions to his sister Mary's opposition.

"The lady Mary, my sister, came to me to Westminster, where, after salutations, she was called with my Council into a chamber; where was declared to her how long I had suffered her mass in hope of her reconciliation, and how now, being no hope which I perceived by her letters, except I saw some short amendment, I could not bear it. She answered that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings. It was said, I constrained not her faith, but willed her not as a king to rule, but as a subject to obey; and that her example might breed too much inconvenience."

The following year, in June, is this entry in the diary;

"June 22d. The lady Mary sent letters to the Council, marvelling at the imprisonment of Dr. Mallet, her chaplain, for saying of mass before the household, seeing it was promised to the

Emperor's ambassador, that she should have the mass said continually before them.

"24th. They answered, 'That because of their duties to their King, country, and friends, they were compelled to give her answer, that they would see not only him, but also all other mass-sayers, and breakers of orders, strictly punished. And, as for promise, they had nor would give none to make her free from the punishment of the law in that behalf.' "

After the negotiation for the marriage of Edward with Mary, Queen of Scots, was set aside, another was proposed between him and the French king's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, to which Edward says, "they did most cheerfully assent. So after they agreed, neither party to be bound in conscience nor honor till she were twelve years of age and upwards. [The French king was then Henry the Second, successor of Francis.] Then they came to the *dot*, which was first asked 1,500,000 scutes of France, at which they made a mock ; also for *donatio propter nuptias*, they agreed that it should be as great as had been given by the King my father, to any wife he had," even Catharine of Aragon.

"22d. Our commissioners came to 1,400,000 of crowns, which they refused ; then to a million, which they denied ; then to 800,000, which they said they would not agree to.

"23d. Then our commissioners asked what they would offer. First, they offered 100,000 of crowns ; then 200,000, which they said was the most, and more than ever was given. Then followed great reasonings, and showing of presidents [precedents], but no nearer would they come.

"24th. Then went forward under the penalties if the parties misliked, after that the King's daughter were twelve years old and upwards, which the French offered 100,000, 50,000 crowns, and promises, that she should be brought at her father's charge, three months before she was twelve, sufficiently jewelled and stuffed. Then bonds to be delivered alternately at London and at Paris, and so forth."

This was the second gallant negotiation for the nuptials of Edward.

"July 26th. Monsieur de Mareschal (who was ambassador from the French) dined with me. After dinner, saw the strength of the English archers. After he had so done, at his departure I gave him a diamond from my finger, worth by estimation one hundred and fifty pounds, both for his pains and also by memory."

These nuptial matters were relinquished. A year later, is recorded another *fête*.

"The same night was first a play, after a talk between one that was called Riches, and the other

Youth, whether of them was better. After some pretty reasoning, there came in six champions on either side.

<p>“ On Youth’s side came my Lord Fitz- worthy. [Five others are mentioned.]</p>	<p>“ On Riches’ side my Lord Fitzwarren with five others.”</p>
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This is all the account we have of the drama, though there were tournaments and masks succeeding it.

In the third year of the journal, a slight mention is made of the burning of “Joan Bocher, always called Joan of Kent,” but no comments of his own on the subject. This fully shows the principle upon which the journal was kept ; otherwise, an event which had cost him so much sorrow, and so many tears, and which he contended against for a whole year, would have called forth a history of his emotion.

It was in the year 1548, that Cranmer began his labors on the liturgy of the Church of England. Strype gives the names of the twelve commissioners who were engaged with him. Their object was, to preserve all they could of the old form, and divest it of its superstitions. Le Bas, in his “Life of Cranmer,” enumerates the essential advantages of this performance, quoted from Ridley.

“ 1st. The service in a language known to the people.

“2nd. Scripture lessons instead of legendary tales.

“3d. The Bible read through in order, without interruptions.

“4th. The creed more properly disposed.

“5th. The Lord’s Prayer introduced immediately before reading or other devotion.

“6th. Repeated audibly instead of secretly.

“7th. The Ave-Maria omitted.

“8th. The monkish metrical hymns rejected.

“9th. The prayers for the dead omitted.

“10th, and lastly. Addresses to saints together with consecrations, exorcisms, and absolution, in the precatory form, without any proclamation of the power of the keys.”

The book was received by the laity generally with great satisfaction. The clergy were by no means satisfied with it.

CHAPTER XV.

IN 1549, the kingdom was in a tumultuous state from a severe famine, which arose from various circumstances, explained at length in Hume's "History of England." The priests took this opportunity to influence the minds of the people against the new doctrines. They said, "The famine was a judgment for the abolition of the Catholic religion; and, till that was restored, the people must not look either for seed-time or harvest."

Such suggestions at once found partisans, and numbers enlisted in bodies, carrying banners, and calling their march the "pilgrimage of Grace." They first attacked Exeter, but the inhabitants refused to join them. Finding, however, the rebellion serious, Lord Russell was sent against them and routed them. The Archbishop, in this affair, commands our entire reverence. He answered the articles of their petition one by one, and strongly reminds us of Luther's reply to insurgents on another occasion.

"Your first article," says the Archbishop, "begins thus; 'We will have'. Is this the

fashion of subjects to speak unto their Prince? Was it ever before used since the beginning of the world?" He then appeals to them as householders, whether they would suffer their servants and retainers to come to them, sword in hand, with this language; *We will have*. St. Peter says, 'Be subject unto kings,' &c. And can you think it meet and lawful for you to disobey your undoubted King; being a Prince most innocent, most godly, and most careful for your sorrow and wealth? If any thing can declare disobedience, what can declare it more than subjects to come with force of arms to their natural Prince and King, and say, 'This we will have.' "

He answers all their articles at length, and in a manner which discovers great knowledge of the genius of the people. His calm, judicious, energetic arguments produced great effect.

Many discourses by the learned men of the times were written against this sedition. Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer both wrote. The latter had sought an asylum in England; by Cranmer's particular invitation, he resided wholly with the Archbishop as long as he lived.

An office of fasting was composed for this rebellion, and then the following prayer, by the Primate.

"O Lord, whose goodness far exceedeth our naughtiness, and whose mercy passeth all measure,

we confess thy judgment to be most just, and that we worthily have deserved this rod, wherewith thou hast now beaten us. We have offended the Lord God ; we have lived wickedly ; we have gone out of the way ; we have not heard thy prophets which thou hast sent unto us to teach us thy Word, nor have done as thou hast commanded us. Wherefore, we be most worthy to suffer all the plagues. Thou hast done justly, and we be worthy to be confounded. But we provoke unto thy goodness ; we appeal unto thy mercy ; we humble ourselves ; we knowledge our faults. We turn to Thee, O Lord, with our whole hearts, in praying, in fasting, in lamenting, and sorrowing for our offences. Have mercy upon us, cast us not away according to our deserts, but hear us and deliver us with speed, and call us to Thee again, according to thy mercy ; that we, with one consent and one mind, may ever more glorify Thee, world without end. Amen."

It was in the spirit of this prayer, that the Archbishop sought to bring over the discontented. But we think he failed in one branch of wisdom which Luther particularly understood ;—admitting all that was true in their complaints, and thereby winning their confidence, and preparing them gradually for a better state of mind. Luther's object was to make the people *reform themselves*;

Cranmer's, *to reform them*. Luther admitted the wrongs done to them ; Cranmer carefully avoids this subject, and confines himself to the wrongs they were doing the King, the realm, and pure religion.

Yet, that their grievances were great, we cannot doubt. "The rents of farms were raised, when the abbey-lands were distributed among the principal nobility and courtiers, while the tenants found not the same facility in disposing of the produce ; the money was often spent in the capital, and the farmers, living at a distance, were exposed to oppression from their new masters, or to the still greater rapacity of the stewards." * In fact, the evils that the Irish have suffered, and are still suffering, affected at that time the realm of England.

Added to other grievances, was the luxury of the nobility, and men of overgrown fortunes, who could afford to dismiss the poor cottagers, expel them from their habitations, pull down their houses, and enclose the grounds for parks, tournaments, and tilting matches.

Somerset seems to have felt truly the rights of the people, of which we think Cranmer had by no means a just conception. He appointed commissioners to look into their complaints, and gave

* Hume.

them power to redress their injuries. This measure was exceedingly offensive to the nobility, who stigmatized it as arbitrary and illegal, as a measure for increasing the popularity of the Protector, and finally went so far as to declare, that a man who had signed the death-warrant for his own brother's execution, would consider usurpation of the throne a slight transgression.

These insurrections were soon suppressed, though in Norfolk they for a time wore an alarming appearance. A tanner by the name of Ket assumed the government, — a bold, daring, unprincipled man, — and, by his appeal to the passions of the people, collected round him *subjects* to the amount of twenty thousand. He at first proposed merely the suppression of the gentry, and placing new counsellors about the King; but in a short time he determined to be king himself. He held his court at Mousehold-hill, near Norwich, under an old oak, (such as are still the pride and boast of England,) whose thick and wide-branching foliage made it the monarch among trees. It was afterwards called “the oak of Reformation.” Here, King Ket assembled what he called the gentry, too few in number to resist, and gave such decrees as might be expected, and which, had they not been trembling for their lives, would have excited their mirth. The Earl of Warwick, afterward Duke of Northumberland,

put them to flight, and the insurrection was completely quelled.

The nobility could not forgive the Protector for a general pardon which he now granted, against the advice of the Council. They were of opinion, that it was better to keep the people under the lash.

About this time a settlement was made of a controversy which had long existed about the pronunciation of Greek. It had hitherto been pronounced like English. Gardiner, who was ever ready to resist innovations, strongly opposed the reform. At length, however, it was carried, and with it a penalty of a public whipping for those who did not adopt the true Greek pronunciation !

Bonner, Bishop of London, was another opposer of all innovations. Though he had yielded partial obedience, it was evidently against his inclination. He was enjoined by the Council to deliver a sermon setting forth particular points, and, among the rest, it was thought proper to show, that "the King was no less a king in his minority, than when he was of full age."

The first of September was the day appointed to preach. A great assembly collected, among them Latimer and Hooper. Bonner touched lightly on the points enjoined, and dwelt wholly on the sacrament, asserting the reality of the corporeal presence ; but wholly omitted any mention

of the King, probably aware that in so doing, he was particularly opposing the Archbishop, whom he most cordially disliked.

When an account was brought of the manner in which he had executed his orders, full authority was given to Cranmer and Ridley, with others, to summon him before them, and "suspend, imprison, or deprive him, as they saw fit."

On the tenth of the month he was summoned to Lambeth. The commissioners, with Cranmer at their head, were waiting to receive him. He entered the court where they sat, with a careless, *nonchalant* air, and walked towards a window, affecting not to see them. This, no doubt, must have astonished the august body, even in the invincible Bonner. Some one, however, pulled him by the sleeve, and reminded him that the commissioners were present, at which he took off his cap, and said, slightly, "I cry you mercy, my Lords ; I had not observed you."

They immediately proceeded to inform him of what he was accused, that is, of not speaking of the King ; for nothing else was actionable.

"My mind," said he, "was filled with the important understanding of the mass ; but I think I neglected nothing of importance that was enjoined."

The witnesses were then brought, and deposed against him.

"Noble Sirs," said he, meaning the witnesses, the venerable Bishops Latimer and Hooper, "your testimony I deny. One talks like a woodcock, and the other like a goose."

The Archbishop, who seems never to have suffered his indignation to get the mastery, asked him, "if he was willing to refer the matter in proof to the people who heard him ;" and then, turning to many who were collected, asked them, "whether they heard him speak of the King's authority when under age."

Many voices replied, "No, no."

Bonner looked round at them with supreme contempt, and said, laughing, "Will you believe this fond people ? these dunces and fools ?"

As he behaved more like a madman than a Bishop, they postponed the trial to the next day.

Bonner, when again before them, did not appear to have improved in manners, though there was much argument on both sides. He said, that he had "*forgotten* to mention the King." He read passages out of a book of Hooper's, calling the venerable man "that varlet." He then turned to address the people, and was interrupted by one of the delegates, who told him he was to speak to *them*, and not to the *people* ; at which he hastily turned round, saying between his teeth, "Woodcocks ! woodcocks !" He constantly evaded any direct answer. Cranmer admon-

ished him for his irreverence, and told him that it was not justifiable to call his judges "pretended judges," which he always did.

Bonner told Sir Thomas Smith, that "as Secretary of State and Privy-Councillor he honored him ; but, as Sir Thomas Smith, he did not hesitate to tell him he lied, and to defy him."

At this the Archbishop told him, that "such language was inexcusable, and he deserved to be sent to prison for using it."

Bonner scoffingly replied, "that he did not care where they sent him, so they sent him not to the devil ; for thither he would not go. He had a few goods, a poor carcass, and a soul ; the two former were in their power, but the last was his own."

After a long and minute trial, Bonner was committed to prison. His trial is given at length in the "State Trials."

We come now to an event that caused the young King and Cranmer much anguish. It became evident that the Protector had many enemies. The Earl of Warwick, who had been raised by the favor of Somerset, was made an instrument in the hands of the Earl of Southampton for exciting great complaints against him ; that the Protector had begun to build a noble palace in the Strand, "out of the ruins of bishops' houses ; and that, while the kingdom was en-

gaged in expensive wars, and London infected with the plague, he was bringing architects from Italy, and designing such a palace as had not been seen in England." These, and many other accusations, were brought against him by the nobles, in whose hands was all power. His enemies rapidly increased, and Cranmer, with Paget and Secretary Smith, alone stood his friends.

It was now, that the friends of his unfortunate brother took the opportunity to wreak their revenge. It is sad, that so heavy a charge as signing the death-warrant could be laid to him; and it was one that he could not gainsay. The Protector was with the King at this time, and of this circumstance they made a handle, protesting that he meant to get his person into custody.

There is little doubt that the Protector might have had the support of the people, had he called for it, and raised a numerous army. But, when he saw the nobles and Council all against him, with the exception of Cranmer and Paget, he submitted at once, and only stipulated for gentle treatment. He was, however, sent to the Tower, with Cecil. He confessed, while there, the articles charged against him, but imputed his misconduct to folly and indiscretion, and not to any bad intentions. The Parliament deprived him of all his offices, and fined him two thousand pounds a year. The King does not appear to have taken

any part in his disgrace ; on the contrary, he immediately remitted the fine.

Somerset bore his fall so meekly, that he seems to have mollified his most powerful enemy, the Earl of Warwick. He readmitted him to the Council, and even agreed to an alliance between his son and a daughter of Somerset's.

Warwick procured to himself a grant of lands which lay in the north, and was dignified with the title of Duke of Northumberland. It might have been supposed, that the alliance which had taken place between his son and Somerset's daughter might have secured his friendship. He could not, however, pardon him the favor he still enjoyed with the people, and the fondness the King cherished for him. He placed spies about him, and had him arrested for treason and felony. Of treason, he was fully acquitted ; but was condemned for felony, on the score of idle words he had spoken. The people hearing the first part of the sentence of acquittal, expressed their joy by loud acclamations ; but a general groan was heard when they found he was condemned for felony.

During this time the King was kept in ignorance of the state of things ; those who would have informed him were not allowed to have access to him, and a constant course of amusements was devised for him.

At the place of execution, Sir Anthony Brown was seen hastily riding towards the scaffold. It was supposed he had come with a pardon from the King, which had all along been expected by the people, "and therefore with great rejoicing and casting up of caps, they cried out, 'Pardon, pardon is come ! God save the King !' "

"Thus this good Duke," continues the narrator, "although he was destitute of all men's help, yet he saw, before his departure, in how great love and favor he was with all men. And truly, I do not think in so great slaughter of Dukes as there has been in England within this few years, there were so many eyes weeping at the same time."

The Duke made a sign to the people to be quiet, and then, in a resigned but cheerful voice, addressed them, closing his address with beseeching them to keep quiet and still, lest, through their tumult, they might trouble him ; for, "albeit the spirit be willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering."

He prepared for the stroke of the executioner with much calmness, untying his neckcloth and laying his head upon the block, calling thrice upon the name of Jesus, "Lord Jesus, save me !" The third time, the sentence was left unfinished, — the axe fell !

The people rushed forward and dipped their

handkerchiefs in his blood, and preserved them as relics. Whatever were his faults, he fell a sacrifice to the ambition of his rival, Northumberland.

After Bonner was committed to the Tower and deprived of his See, Ridley succeeded him as Bishop of London. His conduct towards the dependants of Bonner was truly amiable. As he took possession of the same house, he was extremely careful not to do the least injury to his predecessor's goods. He even paid wages to the servants that were in arrears. He treated the mother, Mrs. Bonner, with the greatest respect, and welcomed her to the upper seat at his table, as if she had been his own mother, saying, when he had guests, "By your Lordships' favor, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner."

The young King was now transferred to Northumberland, who succeeded Somerset in all his honors, but his health was visibly declining. In his journal we find an entry of his having the small-pox and measles, disorders often fatal to feeble constitutions. Still, however, he continued his studies, writing perhaps much more than was for the good of his health, as has been proved by the many manuscripts he left in his own hand, and which are entitled, "King Edward's Remains."

From the time of Somerset's death, his health had drooped, and this gave rise to many idle reports of slow poison being administered by the ambitious Northumberland. But the Archbishop, who was more interested than any one in the King, and had no love to the Duke, whom he considered the cause of Somerset's death, gave no heed to them. He had too long seen the seeds of decay in the constitution of Edward, and felt that the power of God alone could stay it. Northumberland took much pains to withdraw the King from the immediate influence of the Archbishop, and, under pretence of change of air, removed him from place to place. Edward alludes to this in his journal, but makes no personal remarks upon Northumberland. We also find that the celebrated John Knox, the itinerant Scotch preacher, was appointed chaplain to Edward. Probably his vehement and powerful style of oratory had won upon the devotional feelings of the young King. He was offered a bishopric, but declined it peremptorily, and declared himself entirely opposed to the Liturgy and established form of episcopacy.

As the journal of the King is merely a relation of facts, it may only serve as an evidence of his industry and modesty, for no mention is ever made of honor paid to himself. For written

proofs of the extraordinary maturity of his mind, we must look among what is called his "Remains." Some of these are to be found in the Appendix to Strype's "Memorials of Cranmer," and others in Burnet's Documents.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE most remarkable performance of the King, in his own handwriting, is, "A Discourse about many Abuses." From this we shall select a few passages. The first part is upon the ecclesiastical government of the realm. The second, upon the "Temporal Regiment."

"The temporal regiment consisteth in well-ordering, enriching, and defending the whole body politic of the commonwealth, and every part of the whole, to one part not the other. The example whereof may be best taken of a man's body; for even as the arm defendeth, helpeth, and aideth the whole body, chiefly the head, so ought servingmen and gentlemen chiefly, and such like kind of people, be always ready in defence of their country."

He then goes on with the comparison, and makes out the analogy with great exactness.

"Furthermore, no member in a well-fashioned and whole body, is too big for the proportion of the body, so must there be in a well-ordered commonwealth, no person that shall have more

than the proportion the country will bear ; so it is hurtful immediately to enrich any one part."

He then goes on to show, that "every man ought to labor in his vocation to support the body, and to see that order, moderation, and reason bridle the affections."

He speaks of the abuses which have taken place.

"The artificers work falsely ; the clothiers use deceit in cloth ; the masons in building ; the clockmakers in their clocks ; the joiner in his working of timber, &c. ; all others almost, to the intent they would have them oftener come to them for amending their things."

"The grazier, the farmer, the merchant, become landed men and call themselves gentlemen, though they be churls ; yea, the farmer will have ten farms, some twenty, and will be a pedler-merchant."

Then comes a record of various abuses. After speaking of those that forestall the market, he says ;

"What shall I say of those that buy and sell offices of trust, that inappropriate benefices, that destroy timber ; that, not considering the sustaining of them in their barn, turn till-ground to pasture ; that use excess in apparel, in diet, and in building of inclosures of wastes and commons ;

of those that cast false and seditious bills ; but that the thing is so tedious, long, and lamentable, that I am weary to go any further in the particulars ; wherefore I will cease, having told the worst, because the best will save itself."

An enumeration then follows of the various causes of dissatisfaction which he has before mentioned.

" These sores must be cured with these medicines or plaisters : 1. Good Education. 2. Devising of good laws. 3. Executing the laws justly, without respect of persons. 4. Example of rulers. 5. Punishing of vagabonds and idle persons. 6. Encouraging the good. 7. Ordering well the customers. 8. Engendering friendship in all parts of the Commonwealth. These be the chief points that tend to order well the whole Commonwealth.

" And for the first (good education), as it is in order first, so it seemeth to be in dignity and degree ; for Horace saith very wisely,

*'Quo semel est imbuta recens, servabit odorem
Testa diu.'*

With whatsoever thing the new vessel is imbuted, it will long keep the savour, saith Horace ; meaning, that for the most part, men be as they be brought up. Wherefore, seeing that it seemeth so necessary a thing, we will shew our device herein. Youth must be brought up, some in

husbandry, some in working, graving, gilding, joining, printing, making of clothes, even from their most tender age, to the end that they may not, when they come to man's estate, loiter as they do now-a-days, and neglect, but think their travail sweet and honest."

"Nevertheless, when all these laws be made, established, and enacted, they serve to no purpose, except they be fully and duly executed. By whom? By those that have authority to execute; that is to say, the Noblemen and Justices of Peace. Wherefore, I would wish, that after this Parliament were ended, those Noblemen, except a few that should be with me, went to their counties, and there should see the statutes fully and duly executed, and that those men should be put from being Justices of Peace, that be touched or blotted with those vices that be against these new laws to be established; for no man that is in fault himself can punish another for the same offence.

'Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum.'

The justices being put out, the laws will be executed ———." *Desunt cætera.*

Edward, like other Kings, had his favorite, Baralse Fitz Patrick. He was a boy near his own age, and Burnet says, his whipping-boy, "who (according to the rule of educating our Princes,)

was always to be whipped for the King's faults." Edward was of too gentle and just a nature to approve of this mode of tuition. He early formed an attachment to him, and sent him to France to be educated. While he was there, the young King wrote to him constantly, giving him counsel and advice. In one of his letters he writes, that "he must not think to live like an ambassador, but like a private gentleman, whose fortunes were to be gradually advanced as he deserved." He allowed him four servants, and charged him "to devote his time to useful observation ; to associate with gentlemen, rather than ladies ; to be simple in his apparel ; to observe well the conduct of armies, and the fortification of strong places ; to note what was observable and praiseworthy in the customs and manners of the nation, and what might profit his own country on his return." He also desired him "to let *him* know when he needed money, and he would supply him."

All these directions, and many others, the King wrote with his own hand ; and, when the young man returned, to let him see that he meant to administer to no superfluous wants or useless luxuries, gave him only a pension of one hundred and fifty pounds ; a small allowance for the favorite of a King.

That Edward chose his favorites for the virtues of simplicity, integrity, and correctness, the future

life of Fitz Patrick proved. When deprived of his royal friend, he devoted himself to study and the arts, always making it his great object to justify by his good conduct the early prepossessions of the King.

Edward had written to, and received many letters from, his rebellious sister Mary, who had persisted in observing the Catholic forms. These letters show mutual good will ; but Edward's unite such a fervent zeal for the reformed religion, with so much brotherly regard, that we see the inward struggle of his mind. As a king, he conjures her not to set an ill example to the subjects of the realm ; as a brother, not to oblige him to proceed to extremities ; and calls upon her, as an elder sister, to aid him in his duty. He endeavoured by argument to convince her of her errors ; and "talked so learnedly on the subject with her Bishops, that they were amazed, he bringing texts of Scripture to support his arguments, and showing an accurate and thorough acquaintance with the Bible."

The tenderness and compassion of his nature were traits that he particularly inherited from his mother, and were what gave rise to the observation, that one "phoenix had risen from the ashes of another."

The great opposition he made to taking away the life of heretics was a matter of religion as

well as mercy. When urged by Cranmer to sign the warrant for Joan of Kent's death, the only argument which finally prevailed with him was, that the responsibility would fall upon the Archbishop. No doubt this idea operated in soothing his distress. He constantly asked, "if heresy were so great a crime, how he could answer it to his conscience to send her into the presence of her Maker with the crime unrepented of." Cranmer said, "he would be answerable"; and this, probably, was a double relief to Edward, both for Joan and himself. Joan's guilt was in no way aggravated by her execution. If to go thus unprepared into the presence of her Maker was an added sin, it was the sin of those who sent her; and Cranmer had said, it should be his!

It cannot be doubted that the Archbishop acted conscientiously, with the erroneous and bigoted views of the time. No motive but zeal for the truth could have influenced him, and his earnest desire to make her renounce her heresy is consistent with the benevolence of his character.

A striking trait in Edward was his punctuality. He was as careful of other people's time as of his own. He considered time as equally the property of all; he had no more right to squander his poorest subject's than his own. In his journal he discovers the strictest care to pay small, as well as large debts, knowing that a Prince's credit

is even more important than that of private individuals.

Such a character as Edward's could not be misunderstood, even at that period, though he was, in all moral endowments, in advance of the time. Much pains were taken to keep him ignorant of events that were passing, particularly the details of Somerset's trial.* Cranmer might have been said to look upon him with *reverence*, as well as love. He one day took his preceptor, Dr. Chek, by the hand, and told him he "had reason, all the days of his life, to rejoice that God had given him such a pupil." His "report of the King's towardliness to the Archbishop" is copied from the "Memorials of Fox."

The nation considered him as one raised up by

* One of the circumstances that diverted Edward's mind from the fate of his uncle, was the presence of a royal visitor, about the time Somerset was accused. He gives an account in his journal of the arrival of the Queen Dowager of Scotland. She had been to France, to convey her unfortunate daughter Mary, and, on her return, put in at Portsmouth. At the request of Henry of France, she obtained permission to continue her journey by land. Edward could feel no great complacency towards her; but he performed the duties of hospitality with his native courtesy. "Her lodging," Edward writes in his journal, "was all hanged with arras, and so was the hall and all the other lodgings of mine house at Southampton very finely dressed; and for this night and the next day, all was spent in dancing and pastime, as

God for extraordinary purposes ; but these were not to be accomplished on earth. To many minds, the strongest evidence of another life is afforded by the promise of excellence early summoned hence. The employments of the blessed are more clearly brought to view, and the character of that heaven designated, to which they are called. Few who understand the power of intellect and virtue, and comprehend the deathless evidence they give of future progression, can, for a moment believe, that this existence is the end of life.

Northumberland seems to have effectually spread his toils around the King. The nation murmured, that one, whom they did not love,

though it were a court, and great presence of gentlemen resorted there."

She was then conducted to Westminster by a large number of lords and ladies. "The court, the hall, and the stairs," continues Edward in his journal, "were full of serving men ; the Presence Chamber, the Great Chamber, and her Presence Chamber, full of gentlemen. And, so having brought her to her chamber, I retired to mine. I went to her at dinner ; she dined under the same cloth of state at my right hand ; at her rere-ward dined my cousin Frances and my cousin Margaret. At mine, sat the French ambassador. We were served by two services, two sewers, two cupbearers, carvers, and gentlemen. Her Master-Hostel came before her service, and my officers before mine. There were two cupboards, one of gold, four stages high, and another of massy silver, six

should have their most precious jewel in his keeping. Edward seems to have acquiesced in every journey, or "progress," as such excursions are often styled. His cousin, Lady Jane Gray, was frequently his companion. She was the wife of Lord Dudley, the son of Northumberland, and daughter of Suffolk. The beauty and graces of her Christian character are well known, and Edward found comfort and strength in her conversation. Others were placed about him by the arbitrary Duke, that were less congenial to his character ; and those, who were excluded or dismissed, did not hesitate secretly to disseminate suspicions that the Earl harboured designs against the life of the King.

stages high. [It is presumed *shelves* are meant.] In her great chamber dined at three boards the ladies only. After dinner, when she had heard some music, I brought her to the hall, and so she went away."

The King mentions sending her a diamond ring as a present, before her departure. We must remember, that it is from a youth of fifteen we have these simple narrations.

This Queen was the eldest sister of Henry the Eighth of England. He does not mention her or her heirs under any circumstances, as successors to the throne ; but, after his death, Mary, who was then married to the Dauphin Francis the Second, laid claim to the crown, instigated by her uncles, the Guises. This claim cost her her liberty and life in succeeding years. See Robertson's "History of Scotland."

But a more invincible enemy than Northumberland was attacking the vital powers of Edward. Of this there were fearful indications in the almost supernatural brightness of his eye, the hectic of his cheek, and his short and rapid manner of breathing. Yet at times he seemed to cast off all debility, and his spirit, lightened of its load, gave deceptive promises of health. Sometimes the princely boy would spring from his couch, and gaze on the fair realm around him with a sanguine feeling, that he should yet live to govern it.

And could there not be found one in all this wide domain to rescue its youthful monarch from an early grave? Where were the united claims of Lancaster and York? Where the nobles of the land? The Parliament, too, who found it so easy to sign a warrant of death, could they not sign one of life? Of all the flatterers, who had surrounded him, and who had cried "God save the King!" was there none to avert the blow? Seymour and Somerset had contended for his favor, and, ere the struggle was ended, had trod the dark valley of death. Northumberland was yet bowing the knee, and successfully excluding from the royal presence all rivals. But there was one enemy more powerful, more vigilant than the Earl; one, whose icy hand was outstretched, and who laughed to scorn all human efforts. To him the bribes of countless wealth were nothing. Slowly

and noiselessly he came, but not so stealthily as to deceive Edward. *He* saw his approach with an undaunted eye, for he knew that death could only open the portals to immortal life ; and, beyond, he beheld "flowery vales and dewy meads," inviting his "fainting steps."

Cranmer sometimes was summoned to him, and then he left all his occupations to sit by the side of the beloved one, to hold his emaciated hand, and wipe the cold dew from his forehead. It was on one of these occasions, that Edward spoke much of the welfare of the realm, and expressed his fears that the Catholic religion would be revived under the succession of Mary.

The entrance of Northumberland interrupted the conversation ; (indeed, the Archbishop was seldom suffered to be alone with him ;) he was accompanied by Lord Darcy. Edward, however, resumed it, and said to the Archbishop, that he "thought it his duty to secure the succession of the crown to one who would promote the cause of true religion."

Cranmer immediately replied, that he "knew not how the succession of Mary could be set aside, and Elizabeth preferred."

"Neither do I," said Edward.

Northumberland hurried the Archbishop away, on pretence of the King's being fatigued. The subject, however, was soon taken up again, and

Cranmer found that Lady Jane Gray, in right of her mother, the Duchess of Suffolk, was to be the successor to the throne. The Archbishop warmly opposed this determination of the King, and requested leave to argue with him alone, which Northumberland refused, probably knowing that Cranmer might turn the scales against him. "Truly, my Lord of Canterbury," said he arrogantly in the Council Chamber, "it does not become you to speak to the King as if he were yet a child, and dissuade him from his will."

The Archbishop argued with the Council the entailing of the crown by King Henry the Eighth, and earnestly declared, that he could not sign an act which was contrary to *his* will and would render his daughter illegitimate.

The Council replied, "that it was the opinion of the judges and the King's learned counsel in the law, that that entailing had nothing to do with the present King ; that he, 'being in possession of the crown, had the same right, as his father, of disposing of it as he thought best for the realm, and to convey it, if he so pleased, to Lady Jane Gray by deed.' "

The Archbishop said, "this seemed most strange to him ; yet, considering it was the judgment of the lawyers, and he himself wholly unlearned in the law, he thought it not seemly to oppose this matter further ; but, for his own part,

as his conscience was against the matter, he must decline *signing*."

Who, that has followed the Archbishop through his life, will not tremble for his firmness? Who will not already see his hand grasp the pen, and his name affixed to the deed.

The Council, however, and the chief judges, proceeded to set their names to the letters patent, in deed of the King. And when they had all done it, they sent for Cranmer, who had absented himself, and required him to sign.

The Archbishop answered, that he "might not do it without perjury; for he had sworn to King Henry's will, acknowledging the Lady Mary as Edward's successor."

"The Council replied, that "they had consciences as well as he, and had also sworn to Henry's will."

The Archbishop answered, "I am no judge over any man's conscience, but mine own only; for, as I will not condemn your fact, no more will I stay my fact upon your conscience, seeing that every man shall answer to God for his own deeds, and not for other men's."

They still pressed him with further argument and persuasion, representing the distressed state of the realm, and the subversion of all true religion, upon the accession of a Popish Queen. They probably saw the gradual yielding of his

mind ; -for, when he desired to speak with the King alone, Northumberland consented.

He found Edward reclining on his couch, his books near him, and his lute, upon which he excelled, laying by his side. He could no longer touch it with a master's hand ! When the Archbishop entered, he arose and received him with his wonted affection, spoke calmly of his approaching end, and then immediately recurred to the subject nearest his heart, — the succession of his cousin Jane.

“ I have not proceeded rashly in this matter,” said Edward ; “ I have consulted the most learned judges, and they inform me, that I may lawfully bequeath the crown to the Lady Jane.”

The Archbishop replied, as he had done to the Council, “ that few men could be more ignorant in matters of law than he was ; that he knew what his own conscience demanded, and, because he had taken the oath of succession to his father, he had refused to sign.”

Edward replied, “ that his father had no doubt done what seemed to him best at the time ; that probably he had not anticipated the period which was near, and could not foresee that the realm would be again subjected to the Roman Catholic religion ; that, in the natural course of years, his own life would have greatly exceeded either of his sisters, whom he tenderly loved.” He spoke

of the friends, whom God had given him, with much sweetness, and of the paternal affection that the Archbishop had always shown him, and "Can it be," said he with animation, "that *you* will oppose my wishes when all the rest of the Council yield to them?"

The Archbishop's tears flowed as the young King spoke, and, at the last appeal, he seemed wholly overcome; for, as he wrote afterwards to Queen Mary, "he was sorely grieved, out of the dear love he bore the King," and so, remembering the assurances of the King's attorney and judges, and of all the Council, he at last set his hand.

It cannot but occur to every one, that Northumberland and his emissaries had exerted undue influence over the mind of Edward in his feeble and declining state, that they had used the Reformation as the agent of their ambitious schemes. The Archbishop was not allowed to be with him, or he would have counteracted the influence they were exercising, as nothing could be plainer than that Mary and Elizabeth were the rightful successors to the crown.

It must have cost Cranmer much anguish to be separated so entirely from his god-son, with whom he had enjoyed for so many years such constant intercourse. It has been suggested that Edward's affections were in some degree weaned from him;

but this is merely conjecture, and it is not necessary to resort to it. The constant changes of his residence effected by Northumberland, the King's own illness, and the anxiety he felt about the realm, might have fully occupied him. Cranmer, too, from his high office was necessarily at his different residences.

The last days of Edward were such as might be expected from his innocent and kindly life. His strength gradually declined, and, finally, the physicians seeming to be discouraged, and saying they could do nothing more for him, a woman, who had acquired reputation by some successful cures, was allowed to prescribe for him ; but, he growing worse, she was dismissed, and the physicians were recalled.

As the time of his death drew near, his eyes being closed, he thought no one was by him, and he made the following prayer.

“ ‘ Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen. Howbeit, not my will, but thy will be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to Thee. O Lord, Thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with Thee ; yet, for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health, that I may truly serve. O my Lord God, bless thy people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God, defend

this realm from Papistry, and maintain Thy true religion, that I and my people may praise Thy holy name, for Thy Son Jesus Christ's sake.'

"Then, turning his face, and seeing who was by him, he sayd unto him, 'Are ye so nigh? I thought yee had been further off.'

"Then the doctor sayd, 'We heard you speake to yourself.'

"So, then, after his fashion smiling, he sayd, 'I was praying to God.'

"The last words he uttered were, 'I am faint, Lord, have mercie upon me, and take my spirit.' " *

* Copied from Fox's "Memorials," who was contemporary.

CHAPTER XVII.

As Northumberland determined to put matters in train for executing the will of Edward, before his death was announced, he endeavoured to keep it secret. Another motive, too, operated with him. Mary had been requested to hasten to her brother in his last sickness, and it was the Duke's desire, that she might arrive before she knew of his death, and by that means fall unconsciously into his power. The Earl of Arundel, however, who was a fast friend to Mary, secretly wrote to her and informed her of the event, and advised her to keep out of the way of Northumberland. Mary immediately repaired to Norfolk, where she knew the Duke was much hated, and from there wrote to the Council, that it was most strange that they had not informed her of Edward's death, as she was the rightful successor to the throne.

Northumberland, now seeing there were no measures to keep, entered at once upon his own plans. He immediately repaired to Durham, the residence of the Lady Jane. When he entered, he hailed her, with much parade of courtesy, as

Queen of England, informing her, that such was the last will and testament of her royal cousin.

Jane's attachment to Edward had been fervent and sincere. She was several years older than he, and had been able to assist him in many of his studies. Her excellent tutor, Dr. Elmer, seeing the capacity of her mind, and her disposition to learning, had willingly yielded to her desire of making herself mistress of the dead languages. Though surrounded by gay amusements, she devoted the early part of the day to study ; and, it is well known, that when Roger Ascham, the tutor of Elizabeth, once called to see her, he found her reading the "Phædon" of Plato, while all her friends and family were amusing themselves with hunting in the Park, and other sports.

"How comes it, my Lady," said he, "that you thus seclude yourself from the pleasures that the others are enjoying."

"I have tried them all," said she pleasantly, "and I find them shadows of enjoyment, and this my reality ;" — laying her hand on the book.

"And yet it is rare, for one so young, to love learning better than innocent sport," replied he.

"I have had peculiar blessings," said she smiling ; "my parents considered it a duty to bring me up with much discipline ; and I found more indulgence from my tutor than from them. Often, when I neglected to observe some of the

formalities their high rank enjoined, they angrily sent me from their presence, and I took refuge with Dr. Elmer. Ah, Sir, it has been a great blessing to me that I have had sharp parents and a gentle schoolmaster !”

She had studied the Scriptures with great attention, and was able to point out to her young cousin Edward, what were practical parts, and what doctrines. The example and society of Jane had done much towards forming his character ; and it is not strange, that he earnestly wished, that she, who would rule so virtuously, might be the inheritor of his crown. In sickness, and especially the undermining and gradual inroad of consumption, one idea often clings pertinaciously to the mind. Edward saw only the good of this arrangement ; the evil was carefully concealed from him, and he cherished it with a tenacity that bordered on monomania.

It may well be supposed, that, with such studious habits, and a disposition humble and retired, Jane heard the announcement of her succession with no emotions of delight. But, for a time, all was forgotten in her sorrow for Edward's death. He had sent her little testimonies of his affection, — the books they had read together, the writing-desk, and even the last pen, he had used ; and, to the astonishment of Northumberland, these remembrances occupied her heart, and not the

jewelled crown of the Saxon race. He thought proper, however, to recall her wandering thoughts with some severity.

"Alas ! my Lord," said she, "how can I ascend the throne but as a usurper. By the laws of Henry the Eighth, by the laws of the kingdom, and by natural right, the crown must go to the King's sisters. Spare me the burden such an assumption would bring upon my conscience. I cannot consent to enrich myself by the spoils of others."

"This is a measure that has been long discussed," replied the Earl, "and only decided on for the good of the nation and the saving of innocent blood."

Jane clasped her hands with energy, and exclaimed prophetically, "See you not, that this usurpation will be washed out in rivers of your own blood ?"

"It becomes us not," said the Earl, "to oppose the will of the pious and gentle Edward, who might well have acted from inspiration."

"The inspiration of men !" said Jane, in a low and solemn voice.

"The judges and counsellors," resumed Northumberland, "have set their hands to it, even Cranmer, the sturdy Archbishop. Dudley, my son, unite with me to persuade your wife to accept of a kingdom bequeathed to her."

Dudley, who had the ambition of his father, joined his importunities.

"Be it so," said Jane, weeping ; "and God grant there may be but *one victim* in the cause."

"This is an ungracious acceptance, my gentle wife," said Dudley ; "but, for the present, we must be contented with it. But, believe me, love, a diadem will receive more honor than it confers when placed upon your brow."

How pleasant is the language of flattery, whispered from the lips of those who are dear. Smiles mingled with Jane's tears, and she tried to feel happy.

The day following, Jane was conducted to the Tower, with pale cheeks and streaming eyes ; her train was borne by her mother. The Lord Treasurer presented her the crown, and the city of London rang with the shouts of her proclamation. "Long live Queen Jane !" was echoed and re-echoed again and again ; and Northumberland triumphed.

It was remarked, however, at the time, that there was not much heart in these acclamations. Mary was considered the natural heir to the throne ; and, though they feared her bigotry, they were not satisfied with the measures which set her claims aside. Northumberland, too, was thoroughly odious to the people who looked on him as the murderer of Somerset, and even en-

tertained suspicions, which his present conduct tended to confirm, that he had, in some way, contributed to the death of the King.

Mary, in the mean time, caused her title to be proclaimed in Norfolk, and many flocked to her banner. News of her success was continually arriving, and Northumberland saw that it was necessary to endeavour to quell what he styled rebellion to the royal will. It was proper that some one should take command of the forces. There was no one but Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane, on whose fidelity Norfolk could rely, and he was a man without energy or military skill. The only measure, therefore, that Northumberland could adopt, was to send Jane to the Tower, under the safe keeping of her father, and himself take the command of the forces.

He requested Ridley and some other preachers, to appeal to the religious feelings of the people from the pulpit. Ridley did it in an able manner, contrasting the characters of the present competitors, the gentleness and piety of the one, with the haughtiness, bigotry, and Popish creed of the other. But his eloquence produced only a temporary effect.

When the Council found that all England were turning against them, they concerted together what would be the safest way for them to turn, and sent orders to the Tower for the Duke of

Suffolk to give up the place, acknowledge Mary as Queen, and for Jane to lay down her assumed title. Suffolk submitted at once, and Jane declared most truly, that she "laid down the title with more pleasure than she took it up."

Northumberland retreated to Cambridge, in hopes of new recruits ; but, hearing that things were going against him, he dismissed his forces and went to the market-place, and there, flinging up his hat, he shouted with the rabble, "God save Queen Mary." This, however, did not save him ; he was immediately arrested and sent to the Tower.

Jane had retired to Sion-House after nine days of pretended royalty, but actual misery. Her husband, whose ambition had grown with his wife's honors, had insisted on being made king ; and she saw nothing before her but domestic dissensions, and the destruction of her conjugal happiness.

Elizabeth had taken no part in this affair, but conducted herself with the wisdom which always distinguished her. Northumberland sent to her to offer her a large grant of lands in the beginning, if she would renounce all pretensions to the succession. She replied, that she had "nothing to renounce as long as her elder sister was living."

When Mary's cause prevailed, Elizabeth met her with a numerous retinue. They rode through

the streets of the city together, on well-trained palfreys, that pranced and curvetted, as if proud of their burdens. All the shops were dressed in their gayest attire, houses thrown open, balconies filled, and the different crafts arranged to the greatest advantage. Many remembered Henry in his youth, then remarkable for his majestic bearing ; but they could trace no resemblance in the Queen. Neither could they perceive any traces of Catharine of Aragon, who, though not handsome, was graceful and commanding. Mary was small, with keen black eyes, and a countenance on which disappointment and restless anxiety had imprinted deep lines. She was no longer young, and time had not dealt gently with her. Elizabeth rode by her side, and, perhaps, appeared to more advantage than she had ever done before. She had the charm of youth, which never fails to lend a real or imaginary grace. Her eyes were said to be good, but neither of the royal sisters could boast of beauty.

What is the tribute of the populace ? The same voices that cried " God save Queen Jane ! " a few days before, now shouted for Queen Mary. Young and old joined in the general acclamation. When they entered the Tower, they found in waiting prisoners of the preceding reign. They knelt to Mary. She bade them rise, kissed them, and said henceforth they were *her* prisoners.

Among these were the Duke of Norfolk, the Duchess of Somerset (who had been confined in the Tower since the execution of her husband), and Gardiner, the Ex-Bishop of Winchester. "The same day, she ordered a *dole* of eight pence to be distributed to every poor household-er in the city."

During Edward's reign, great simplicity of apparel had been adopted. Ladies of the highest rank wore no jewelry or costly ornaments, but something approaching Puritanism had been adopted by the reformers, in opposition to the gorgeous pageantry of Popish customs. Mary's taste led her to a gay and diversified apparel; and this, which is always in unison with the taste of the lower classes, was quickly imitated.

One of the first acts of Parliament was, to cause the marriage of Queen Catharine to Henry to be declared lawful. Gardiner, who had been so instrumental in procuring the divorce, was now equally active in removing it, and attributed the divorce wholly to Cranmer. Northumberland, with two of the conspirators against the succession of Mary, were executed; but her vengeance as yet slept for others.

The Queen soon demonstrated, that, whatever promises she had given her subjects, the Catholic form was to be adopted by the nation. She acquainted both the Emperor of Germany, her

cousin, and the King of France, with her determination to restore the Catholic worship. Henry applauded her zeal, but Charles advised her to proceed with caution ; and she so far regarded his advice, as to suffer the funeral of Edward to be performed according to the Protestant faith, in Westminster Abbey ; but she herself had high mass said at the same time in the chapel of the Tower.

Hitherto, Cranmer had taken no part in the proceedings. Well might he be disgusted with public life. It was now his wish to live as retired as possible, and to promote, as far as in him lay, the cause of the reformed religion. But dark clouds hung over the future. In the midst of the gloom and despondency of his mind, he was roused to action by a report generally circulated, that he had offered to perform the mass at King Edward's funeral, and had restored that, and other Roman Catholic services, at his church in Canterbury.

The Archbishop, for once, seems to have lost his self-command, and resented this slander in strong and bitter language. He said, in his absence mass was performed by a false, lying, flattering monk, Dr. Thornden, whom he had raised from poverty, and admitted to his table.

He resolved to do something in a public manner to put down this report, and wrote an article, entitled, "A Declaration of the Reverend Father

in God, Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, condemning the untrue and slanderous Report of some, who have reported that he said he should set up the Mass at Canterbury, at the first Coming of the Queen to her Reign. 1553."

The Declaration is perfectly full, and may be read in Strype's "Memorials of Cranmer." He then challenges them to refute the doctrines that he, and four or five more, with Peter Martyr, would maintain in favor of the Reformation, proving that the doctrine and religion established by Edward the Sixth were more pure and conformable, than any that had been known in England for the last ten centuries, and that it was essentially the same that had been used in the church for fifteen hundred years.

This Declaration was purloined from him in some way or other, and published and distributed at large, which when he found to be the case, he boldly told them, "that it had been his intention to enlarge and correct the document, and to affix it, with his own hand and seal, on all the churches of London."

This was at once decided to be a seditious bill. He was aware, that, from this time, no terms would be kept, and he immediately began to settle his worldly affairs. He scrupulously paid his debts, and, when he had made all his arrangements, said, "Thank God! I am now my own man."

The prisons began to be crowded with victims, and many urged Cranmer to escape to Germany. But this he refused for himself, though he urged others to do it, and wrote the following letter to a friend, Mrs. Wilkinson, persuading her to fly.

“ The true comforter in all distress is only God, through his Son Jesus Christ. And whosoever hath him, hath company enough, although he were in a wilderness all alone. And he that hath twenty thousand in his company, if God be absent, is in a miserable wilderness and desolation. In him, is all comfort ; without him, is none. Wherefore, I beseech you, seek your dwelling there, whereas you may rightly and truly serve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be so heavy a burden as an unquiet conscience ? To be in such a place as cannot be suffered to serve God in Christ’s religion ? If you be loth to depart from your kin and friends, remember that Christ calleth them his mother, sisters, and brothers, that do his Father’s will. Where we find, therefore, God truly honored, according to his will, there we can lack neither friend nor kin.

“ If you be loth to depart for slandering God’s Word, remember that Christ, when his hour was not yet come, departed out of his country into Samaria, to avoid the malice of the Scribes and

Pharisees ; and commanded his apostles, that, if they were pursued in one place, they should fly to another, And was not Paul let down by a basket, out at a window, to avoid the persecution of Aretus ? And after the same sort did the other apostles. Albeit, when it came to such a point, that they could no longer escape danger of the persecutors of God's true religion, then they showed themselves, that their flying before came not of fear, but of godly wisdom, to do more good, and that they would not rashly, without urgent necessity, offer themselves to death ; which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they stood boldly to the profession of Christ. Then they showed, how little they passed of death ; how much they feared God more than men ; how much they loved and preferred the eternal life to come, above this short and miserable life. Wherefore, I exhort you, as well by Christ's commandment, as by the example of him and his apostles, to withdraw yourself from the malice of yours and God's enemies, into some place where God is most purely served ; which is no slandering of the truth, but a preserving of yourself to God and the truth, and to the society and comfort of Christ's little flock ; and that you will do it with speed, lest, by your own folly, you fall into the persecutor's hands. And

the Lord send his Holy Spirit to lead and guide you, wheresoever you go. And all that be godly will say, Amen."

This letter is given at full length. It demonstrates the view the Archbishop took of the state of the realm, and the courage with which he made up his mind to remain, even unto death. He considered the situation he had held, and the active part he had taken in the Reformation, as calling for a different mode of conduct from that which he prescribed for others. "For," he said, "it would be no ways fitting for him to go away." Great numbers, however, fled, of all classes, to Strasburg, Wesel, Embden, Antwerp, Frankfurt, Basle, Zurich, Geneva, and other places.

CHAPTER XVIII.

“ON the 13th of November, 1553, the first year of Mary’s reign, Cranmer was attainted of high treason, with the Lady Jane and her husband.” The Archbishop had been suffered thus long to remain at liberty. The Queen could not be wholly forgetful of the good offices he had done her with her father, in saving her from his anger ; and, perhaps, she had a secret hope he might be brought to compromise his religious principles with his deference for royalty and the laws of the land. She had but too much ground for this idea in his conduct during Henry’s reign. But his open and violent declaration against the mass cut off all hope of his connivance, and she determined to proceed to extremities. Cranmer had uniformly said, “ next to God, was the King and laws of the realm ; ” and he now proved his sincerity.

The chief management of the kingdom was consigned to Gardiner, who was made Lord Chancellor.

Cranmer, being divested of his Archbishopric,

was condemned to prison, and led through the streets amid the general grief of the spectators. Soon after, Latimer, Ridley, and Bradford, joined him. Latimer thus describes their situation ;

“ Mr. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Ridley, Bishop of London, that holy man, Mr. Bradford, and I, old Hugh Latimer, were imprisoned in the Tower of London for Christ’s gospel-preaching, and because we would not go a *massing*. The same Tower being so full of prisoners, we four were thrust into one chamber, as men not to be accounted of.” Here these venerable men passed their time in reading and studying the Scriptures, and enlightening and confirming each other’s faith.

Cranmer seems to have made all reasonable exertions to mollify the Queen. He sent a letter to her, suing for pardon, and acknowledging his fault in signing King Edward’s will. It does not appear that any notice was taken of his letters.

The Emperor of Spain had proposed to Mary, a marriage with his son Philip, and the Queen was thought to receive the proposal with complacency. Gardiner was much opposed to this union. Indeed, both Protestants and Catholics reprobated a measure which would place a foreigner and a despotic prince on the throne of England. The Commons made an address to the Queen, urging her to marry, but not to unite a

foreign family to the kingdom, but to choose a husband from her own realm.

Mary suspected that Gardiner was the instigator of this address, and she at once took a solemn oath before the sacrament, that she pledged her faith to Philip of Spain, and would marry no other man. She then made a spirited reply to the address, saying, "that she thanked them for their expressions of loyalty; but, inasmuch as they pretended to limit her choice in a husband, she thanked them not. The marriages of her predecessors had been free, and hers should be."

This address at once changed the language of the Lords and Commons, and they promised her Philip should be received with a hearty welcome.

In the mean time, Mary signed a warrant for the execution of Jane Gray and her husband. It appeared, at first, that she had not designed this severity. She spoke of Jane as "her cousin," and as "drawn into the snare laid for her"; but she was urged to other measures by counsellors and the advice of the Emperor, as there had been an insurrection, and an attempt made to set the crown on Elizabeth's head. This, they assured her, had arisen from her great clemency towards Jane; and she and her husband were condemned to die at the expiration of three days.

Jane received this intelligence with apparently less sorrow than she had received the invitation

to a throne. Feckman, one of Mary's priests, strove to convert her to the Catholic faith. She listened with patience, and replied to all he said, fully acknowledging her sin in assuming the royal dignity, from persuasions to which she never ought to have yielded. We quote from an account of what passed between them.

When Dr. Feckman went to see Jane, he found her with her Bible before her.

"*Dr. Feckman.* Madam, I lament your heavy case ; and yet, I doubt not, but that you bear out this sorrow of yours with a constant and patient mind.

"*Jane.* You are welcome unto me, Sir, if your coming be to give Christian exhortation ; and, as for my heavy case, I thank God I do so little lament it, that rather I account the same for a more manifest declaration of God's favor towards me, than ever he showed me before. And therefore there is no cause why either you, or other, which bear me good will, should lament or be grieved with this my case, being a thing so profitable for my soul's health.

"*Dr. Feckman.* I am here come to you at this present, sent from the Queen and her Council to instruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith ; although I have so great confidence in you, that I shall have, I trust, little need to travail with you much therein.

“Jane. Forsooth, I heartily thank the Queen’s Highness, which is not unmindful of her humble subject ; and I hope, likewise, that you no less will do your duty therein, both truly and faithfully, according to that you were sent for.”

There is great dignity in this answer. A common mind would have reverted to relationship with the Queen, and to their former intimacy ; but we see nothing of this in Jane.

In the course of their conversation, Jane defines her belief. “To love our neighbour,” she says, is “to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and give drink to the thirsty, and to do to them as we would do to ourselves.”

After much conversation, in which the good Doctor accused her of “grounding her faith upon such authors as say and unsay, both with a breath, and not upon the Church, to whom she ought to give credit.”

Jane’s answer is direct ; “No ; I ground my faith on God’s Word, and not upon the Church.”

After much reasoning, Dr. Feckman took his leave, saying, that he was sorry for her ; “for I am sure,” said he, “that we two shall never meet again.”

Jane’s reply is in accordance with his, and we regret that her faith did not admit of a more liberal one. “True it is,” said she, “we shall never meet, unless God turn your heart. You are

in an evil case ; and I pray God to send you his Holy Spirit ; for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it pleaseth him to open the eyes of your heart."

Jane wrote a letter to her father, opening to him the state of her mind, in which she assures him, that "there can be nothing more welcome to her than to aspire to that heavenly *throne* of all joy and pleasure, with Christ our Saviour." She also wrote to her sister, and there are several prayers of hers recorded. Her husband was condemned to be beheaded on the scaffold at the same time ; but so much pity and sympathy were expressed, that it was not thought prudent, for fear of public tumult.

Her husband requested that he might take leave of her ; but this she declined, giving excellent reasons. She bade him a farewell from her window, as he passed to the scaffold, where he met his fate with much Christian meekness. When his dead body, laid on a car, and his head, wrapped in a cloth, were carried by, she is said to have again looked upon the sad spectacle, — probably no longer sad to her, for in one short hour she believed they were to be re-united never to part again. Notwithstanding he was of a much more worldly and ambitious nature than herself, there was a strong affection between them, and the dis-

sension that had arisen while she was Queen, had made her crown one of thorns.

About an hour after his execution, she was standing on the scaffold, and Feckman again by her side. He renewed his discourse, which she did not appear much to heed, being deeply engaged with a book of prayers that she held in her hand. At length she saluted those who were present, with a composed countenance, and, turning to Dr. Feckman, said; "God will abundantly requite you, Sir, for your humanity to me." She then addressed a few words to the spectators, gave her handkerchief and gloves to two female attendants, and to the lieutenant of the Tower her prayer-book.

The executioner offered to assist her in preparing for the block ; but she declined his services. Her women tied a handkerchief over her eyes, and the executioner, kneeling, desired her pardon. "Most willingly," was her reply. "Lord Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit." One stroke severed her head from her body.

In the following May, Philip arrived, to wed the Queen. He was met on the beach by a numerous retinue which the Queen had sent, and also a Spanish jennet richly caparisoned. He was invested with the order of the garter, and a royal salute was fired. He mounted the jennet with much grace and activity, and as he rode to the

church, and afterwards to his lodgings, the people hailed with acclamations the future husband of their sovereign. His youth, the grace of his person, and his courteous manner, charmed the spectators. "God save your Grace!" was shouted on every side. He gave them continual assurances of his affection, and, Lingard says, in conformity to the customs of England, drank farewell to the company in a tankard of ale.

Philip sent the Queen a present of jewels, valued at one hundred thousand crowns. The marriage was celebrated in the Cathedral Church at Winchester, with great splendor and magnificence. The mass was said, and then Philip and Mary, hand in hand, left the church, and dined in public.

This, and other events, had delayed the trial of the prisoners. On the 12th of September, 1555, the Primate was summoned into the presence of his accusers. The commission was held in St. Mary's Church, at Oxford. Let us now repair to the place with the numerous crowd of spectators, assembled to witness the arrival of Cranmer. Perhaps, among them all, he had not one personal enemy, and yet there were many who wished to find him guilty. There is a strange insensibility in *party feeling*. It lives upon its victims, and even upright men become corrupted by it. Those are pronounced guilty who are in

the opposite faction. During Edward's reign, the present judges were the offenders, and some of them were cast into prison. Now, we must see a new standard of justice erected. Yet, surely, those who look on at this remote period, may do it with impartial and candid minds ; they may divest themselves of prejudice, and Protestants and Catholics meet on the same common ground.

In the month of October, previously to Cranmer's last trial, Latimer and Ridley, who had been imprisoned with Cranmer, were tried at Oxford and condemned. They had taken their part in the disputation. The controversy ended as might have been expected, when all the power was on one side.

Cranmer was first summoned. The matter seems to have been most disgracefully managed. He was carried back to prison as *confuted*.

Ridley was next summoned. He came in the vigor of health, and with a spirit unsubdued, but met with the same treatment as Cranmer. He, likewise, was remanded to prison as *confuted*.

Next came the venerable Latimer, broken down with age and infirmity, more truly Puritanical in his appearance and demeanor than most Protestants of the time. He usually carried his large Bible, with its huge clasps, fastened to his girdle. There was a remarkable simplicity in his countenance and manner. He begged of them

“to spare him the disputation, said his memory was gone, that at all times he was poorly calculated for argument, and that he was about as fit to dispute as to be made Captain of Calais.” He said he was four score, and only now asked for a quiet end.

This appeal, instead of softening the hearts of the court, strengthened them in the belief that he would gladly recant, especially when they saw his bodily debility, and that he could with difficulty remain standing. But they were mistaken. He continued firm to his professions. “I pray for the Queen daily,” said he, “that she may turn ; but ye shall have no hope of me.”

We enter not into the details which followed. He was reviled and insulted, the simplicity of his character calling forth ridicule and abuse.

It is not every one whose style of writing gives a perfect idea of his character. But Old Hugh Latimer’s certainly does ; and, for this reason, we quote a few passages from his letters, taken from Fox. We wish we could give them in the *black letter*, which is truly in keeping.

“A fruitfull letter of Master Latimer, written to a certaine gentleman.

“Right Worshipfull, *salutem in Domino*. And now, Sir, I understand that you be in great admirations at me, and take very grievously my

manner of writing to you, adding thereunto, that you will not beare it at my hand, no, not if I were the best Bishop in England. Ah, Sir, I see well I may say as the common saying is, 'Well have I fished and caught a frog;' brought little to passe with much ado. You will not beare it with me, you say. Why, Sir, what will you doe with me? You will not fight with me, I trowe. It may seem unseemly in a justice of the peace to be a breaker of the peace. I am glad the dotting times of my foolish youth is gone and past. What will you then doe with me in that you say you will not beare it at my hand. What hath my hand offended you in?"

The letter is a very long one, and may be read in Fox, as a curious specimen of the simplicity and godly sincerity of this man *without guile*.

One other specimen we are tempted to give.

"A letter sent to Mistresse Wilkinson,* of London, widow, from Master Hugh Latimer, out of Bocardo, in Oxford.

"If the gift of a pot of cold water shall not be in oblivion with God, how can God forget your manifold and bountiful gifts, when he shall say to you, 'I was in prison and you visited me.'

*The same person to whom Cranmer wrote.

God grant us all to doe and suffer while we be here, as may be to his will and pleasure. Amen.

“Yours, in Bocardo,

“HUGH LATIMER.”

A bold act of this worthy man is mentioned in King Henry's time, in sending the King a present. “There was then, and yet remaineth stil, an old customs, received from the old Romanes, that, upon New-Year's day, being the first day of January, every Bishop, with some handsome New Year's present, should gratifie the King; and so they did, some with gold, some with a purse full of money, and some one thing, and some another; but Master Hugh Latimer, being Bishop of Worcester, sent him, among the rest, a New Testament for his New Year's gift, wrapped up in a napkin, bearing this posie about it; ‘Fornicatores et adulteros judicabit Dominus.’” It is rather surprising the *posy* did not cost him his head.

To condemn the Archbishop, as he had held the highest place in the realm, required more formality. The Archbishop was in the hands of Cardinal Pole, who had come over under Mary's reign, and resided in the palace at Lambeth.

Ridley and Latimer were brought forth to the stake, and passed by Cranmer's prison. He looked after them, and prayed fervently that their

faith and patience might be strengthened to the last.

Previously to this period, there had been many victims to Popish cruelty. Rogers, Hooper, Taylor, and many more distinguished men, had, during the three years of Mary's reign, suffered at the stake. Those who have any taste for this sort of reading, may find it amply set out in Fox's "Martyrology." But let them not read wholly one side ; let them turn to the victims of reform, and grow mild and charitable, banishing the unjust and tyrannical exactions of party feeling, and allowing to every man the right of opinion. The law passed during the reign of Edward, that persons should be publicly whipped who did not *pronounce* Greek in a certain way, shows the spirit of the times.

Cranmer had been summoned to appear before the Pope at Rome ; but this was a mockery, as he was in close confinement. The dignity of the Archbishop's office rendered it necessary that the authority for proceeding against him should issue from the Pontiff ; and this authority was now obtained.

Cardinal de Puteo was appointed by the Pope, as chief judge or commissioner. He was seated on a stage erected near the high altar, men in power on each side, and a crowd of learned men

in ranks below. A profound stillness reigned after the summons was pronounced.

“ Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, appear here and make answer for the charges of blasphemy, incontinence, and heresy to the Bishop of Gloucester, representing the person of the Pope.” The Archbishop was then brought forward, and stood in front of the assembly, so that all might see him. He was habited in a black gown, with his doctor’s hood upon his shoulders, and a cap upon his head.

Even at this trying moment, Cranmer’s deportment was consistent with his high ideas of royalty. To the royal commissioners he took off his cap successively to each, bowing low. Then, turning to the representative of the Pope, he placed his cap on his head, and stood respectfully waiting.

The Bishop demanded the usual signs of reverence, and sternly rebuked him.

Cranmer replied, that he had solemnly sworn never to recognise the papal authority in England ; that to officers of the crown, and to the Bishop of Gloucester, had he been one of them, he would most willingly have paid all deference, and that he had no want of personal respect to the noble lord.

It is not our intention to go into the details of this long trial of Cranmer. It may be found at

full length in the "British State Trials," Vol. I., and a general and able view of the whole in Le Bas's "Life of Cranmer." Bishop Bonner's oration against him is a curious specimen of vulgar vehemence. "This is the man that hath ever despised the Pope's Holiness, and is now to be *judged by him*. This is the man who hath pulled down so many churches, and now is judged *in a church*. This is the man that hath condemned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and now is condemned before that blessed *sacrament hanging over the altar*. This is the man, that, like Lucifer, sat in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge another, and now is come before an *altar* to be judged himself." When he first began, "This is the man," his oratory commanded great attention among the audience, which he, probably perceiving, with his usual want of tact, rung upon it, till it became not only tedious, but ludicrous, beginning every sentence, "This is the man." He was so abusive, that he was finally requested by his own party to stop.

Cranmer's address, in some respects, reminds us of Luther's, and nearly the same reply was made to him by some of the commissioners as that made to the German reformer before the diet at Worms; "We come to examine you; and you, methinks, examine us."

After these preliminaries, they proceeded to

degrade the Archbishop. This was necessarily done by Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely. He was an old friend, and was greatly affected at doing it, shedding many tears, "so that Cranmer, moved at his grief, was fain to comfort him, and told him he was well contented with it. So they apparelled Cranmer in all the garments and ornaments of an Archbishop, only in mockery ; every thing was of canvass and old rags. And the crosier was put into his hands, and then he was piece by piece, stripped of all again. When they began to take away his pal (or scarf), he asked, 'which of them had a pal to take away his pal?' They then answered, acknowledging 'they were his inferiors as bishops, but as they were the Pope's delegates, they might take away his pal.' While they were thus spoiling him of his garments, he told them, 'that it needed not ; for that he had done with this gear long ago.' "

It was while this was doing, that Bonner made his triumphant speech against Cranmer ; "This is the man," &c. When they attempted to take his crosier, he resisted till he had drawn a written appeal from his sleeve to a general council. He afterwards said, he remembered Luther did the same.

Thirlby, after some debate, received this appeal, and said he would endeavour to get it admitted. "And so, after this interruption, they

proceeded to degrade him, taking off the rest of his habits, and then put him on a poor yeoman beadle's gown, threadbare, and a townsman's cap. And Bonner told him, *he was no lord any more*; and so he was sent to prison."

To the above insulting ceremony, other indignities were added. His hair was cut close to his head, and his fingers scraped by Bonner, to signify that the holy oil was removed, with which they had been anointed.

Cranmer, after his return to prison, thought proper to write to the Queen, and give her a true account of all these transactions, appealing to her as her natural subject, and asserting his right to be judged by the laws of her kingdom, and not by strangers. The letter entered into a full statement of his opinions, and his reasons for his conduct.

The Queen received the letter, and gave it to Cardinal Pole to answer; whose reply is inserted in Strype's Appendix to his "Memorials of Cranmer."

It may be well to mention here the sudden death of Gardiner, who has been so conspicuous through almost the whole of our history. Fox says, it took place just "one month after the burning of Dr. Ridley and Master Latimer." He then goes on to give his life and character. "First, this viper's bird crept out of the towne

of Bery, in Suffolk, and was brought up most part of his youth in Cambridge," &c. &c. But it is unnecessary to enter into any delineation of the character of Gardiner. He undoubtedly shares the fate of those of his time, of having both his virtues and his vices exaggerated. He has been accused of an unrelenting persecution towards the Protestants. Others say, that he only meant, by a few examples, to strike terror into the remainder, and was glad to devolve the invidious office on Bonner. We can conceive no greater cruelty than this, if he knew the savage character of that man.

Cranmer, *alone* in his prison, felt a desolation he had never known before. No mention is made of his wife and children during these distressing circumstances. Probably he had thought it most prudent to send them to Germany ; at least, it was so believed. To a man broken down by imprisonment and cruelty, and with the sad contemplation of his fellow-sufferers, who had already been summoned to the stake, solitude must have been grievous. How many find renewed strength and courage in the sympathy of friends. Cranmer had *none*. No one of his own faith was suffered to approach him, and, from those who were permitted to converse with him, he heard only details of the horrible sufferings of the martyrs. His whole life discovers the yieldingness of his

nature. When he resisted what he thought iniquitous, it was, no doubt, the highest effort of moral courage. We have before adverted to courage as a natural, rather than an acquired gift. It is a beautiful and noble endowment, when united with gentleness and justice ; but, like external advantages of beauty or elegance, is often denied to a mortal. Would that the Archbishop might have been spared any further struggle ! that he might have been executed with Ridley and Latimer !

From the degradation which they had endeavoured to heap upon Cranmer, his enemies now changed their measures to an opposite course. They felt that their purpose, so far from being accomplished, was, in a manner, defeated. Hitherto, the triumph was *his*, not *theirs*.

They once more threw open his prison-doors, and invited him to come forth under the broad canopy of heaven. Again he breathes the pure and fresh air, and feels his spirits quickened by the natural world. What a change, from the darkness and gloom of his confinement ! He was invited to reside with the Dean of Christ's Church, and parties at bowls were made for him, an exercise of which they knew him to be fond. The doctors of the University visited him, and sometimes accosted him with arguments and disputations, and sometimes with flatteries and prom-

ises. They assured him, that, by only setting his name to a piece of paper, he might enjoy his former dignities and honors. They represented the yearning of Mary towards him, her recollections of his good offices, her willingness to save him, if this could be done without compromising her own professions of Catholic faith; but she said she "would have Cranmer a Catholic, or no Cranmer." But why do we go on. All this, in a healthy and firm state of mind; would have produced no effect. But he was terrified, bewildered, and subdued. The paper was presented to him, and a pen put in his hand. It matters little whether he read it or not; with a trembling hand he wrote his name in the presence of two Spanish friars, John and Richard. Five other separate recantations are alleged against him. For the reasonings and mystery on the subject, we recommend the Appendix to Le Bas's "Life of Cranmer." One reflection must naturally occur; if he signed the first, with the full and entire knowledge of its contents, why should they require five more, and the last be much the least explicit.

Lingard speaks of *seven* recantations signed with his name. Yet the whole of this transaction was in the space of two days. We may suppose him under a degree of mental alienation, brought on by want of firmness and resolution. Or, we may

conclude with the Catholics, that the recantation was occasioned by the fear of an agonizing death. To us it matters little. It was extorted from him by that kind of force, which induces a victim to lay his head voluntarily upon the block, when brought to the place of execution.

It appears that his life had been prolonged only to secure the recantation. The Queen immediately gave orders for a sermon to be prepared for his *burning*. This haste seems to be a strong proof, that they doubted their power, and feared for his constancy in his newly adopted faith.

Saturday, the 21st of March, 1556, was the day appointed for his death. Many had assembled at Oxford to witness the burning of the reclaimed heretic. The morning, however, proved very rainy, and he was therefore conducted first to Saint Mary's Church, instead of being carried immediately to the stake. Crowds had already assembled there, to hear him attest with his last breath, the truth of the Catholic religion. There was a solemn and impatient expectation.

Cranmer entered with the Mayor and Aldermen, and many other gentlemen. A stage was erected for him opposite the pulpit, that all the people might see him. In vain he looked around for friends and adherents; those who had loved and honored him for the noble stand he had taken in the Reformation, were weeping for his fall in

places of retirement, and mourning for the disgrace brought on their cause.

Cranmer stood with his eyes cast down, and his venerable form erect. His head was bald, and his long white beard had been suffered to grow. His figure was truly apostolic, and well might the Romanists exult in such a convert. We rejoice that his wife, his loving Anne, was far away ; for, however distressing her suspense, the spectacle of his present degradation must have surpassed her conjectures. She, whose faith had been first kindled by the German reformers, who remembered Luther and Justus Jonas, and had been the hostess of Martin Bucer, the guest of her husband ; — she, who exulted in the thought, that the glorious Reformation, begun in her *own* native Germany, had been continued and had triumphed in England through her *own* husband, — she might, in her dreams, have beheld him brought to the stake, and seen the flames curling round him ; but no fears of his constancy or courage mingled with the sad vision. Seldom do women analyze the characters of those they love and trust. The very gentleness and yielding spirit of Cranmer, so consonant with the tenderness of domestic life, and, in better times, so becoming a minister of Christ, had attached her the more deeply. It is far easier to yield, than to contend.

We wish to be the biographer, not the apolo-

gist of the Archbishop ; and we see, in his mild, amiable, and Christian-like character, a weakness of resolution, that led him into error. His first purposes were almost invariably correct, but opposition and persuasion led him to change them. This we see too often in every-day life, and we are apt to attribute a degree of virtue, especially in the female character, to this yielding disposition. The consequence is, that, when such characters occasionally make a desperate stand, their weapon is obstinacy ; they dare not trust to the rational convictions of their own minds.

We have seen Cranmer resolutely opposing the arbitrary will of Henry, in the bill of the six articles, and in the appropriation of Catholic spoils ; and here his cause was a noble one. We have seen him yielding to the persuasions of Counsellors and Doctors, in the case of Lady Jane Gray, when his convictions were wholly against their arguments, and it was weakness to yield. And we have seen him obstinate in condemning the miserable Jane Bocher to the stake, and resisting the mild and humane opposition of Edward, and, as we fully believe, the pleadings of his own heart.

How much we may do to obviate this weakness and infirmity of character, it is difficult to decide ; and it becomes us to be mild and charitable towards others, and to leave the decision, where it

must eventually rest, with Him who judgeth the heart.

But we must return to the Archbishop. He stood immovable for a short time ; at length his tears could no longer be restrained, and, turning to a pillar adjoining, as if to hide emotions in which there was no human being present to sympathize, he knelt down, lifting his hands and eyes to heaven, and prayed fervently.

When he arose, Dr. Cole, who had been appointed by the Queen, began his sermon. He first declared, why it was expedient that Cranmer should suffer at the stake, recurring to his agency in the divorce of Henry and Catharine, but alleged that he did not believe it was done in malice. Another cause was, his being the setter forth of heresy in the kingdom, &c. He then went on to inform the audience, "how they should consider this thing, and take example to fear God, as they saw there was no power could stand against the Lord ; having before their eyes a man of so high degree, sometime one of the chiefest prelates of the church, an Archbishop, the head of the Council, the second Peer of the realm a long time, a man who might be thought in greatest assurance, a king of his side ; notwithstanding all his authority and defence to be debased from an high estate to a low degree ; from a Counsellor to be a caitiff ; and to be set in

so wretched estate, that the poorest wretch would not change conditions with him." He then addressed Cranmer, whom he encouraged "to take his death well, by many passages in Scripture, such as the thief to whom Christ said, 'This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise'; by the example of the three children, to whom God made the flame seem like a pleasant dew. He spoke of the rejoicing of St. Andrew, of the patience of St. Lawrence on the fire. He glorified much in his conversion, because it was evidently the work of God. He told him he should be prayed for in every church in Oxford, and have mass said, and dirges sung, for his soul." When he ended, he desired all the people to pray for him. They all knelt, and Cranmer with them.

What must have been the sensations of Cranmer through this heart-rending address! They were visible in his countenance, which, a spectator says, "was sorrowful and heavy, his face bedewed with tears, which all present believed to be those of contrition for his past offences to the Catholic Church."

When the people rose, Cranmer rose too, and said he thanked them most heartily for their prayers, and then requested leave to pray for himself, which he did most fervently, imploring the mercy of God. He concluded by repeating the Lord's Prayer. Then, rising, he said, "Ev-

ery man desireth good people at the time of their deaths to give some exhortation, that others may remember after their deaths, and be better thereby. So I beseech God grant me grace, that I may speak something at my departing, whereby God may be glorified, and you edified. He then piously admonished them not to lay too much stress on the honors or riches of the world, and represented the wants and sufferings of the poor, provisions being so dear. "For, though I have been long in prison, yet I have heard of the great penury of the poor. Consider that which is given to the poor, as given to God." He then expressed his creed.

Still, there was nothing to startle the audience, who waited impatiently for him to openly repeat his recantation. He paused. Not a sound could be heard ; every eye was fixed upon him, either in hope or exultation. His tears flowed anew.

"And now I come," he continued, "to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that I ever said or did through life. And that is, setting abroad of writings, contrary to the truth ; which here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth ; which I wrote for fear of death and to save my life, if it might be. And that is, all such bills, which I have written or signed with mine own hand, since my degradation ; wherein

I have written many things untrue. And, forasmuch as my hand offended in writing, contrary to my heart, therefore, my hand shall first be punished. For, if I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine."

We may suppose the astonishment and consternation which prevailed, as soon as their tongues were loosed. They charged him with dissembling. "Alas, my Lords," said he, "I have all my life been a man that loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth, which I am most sorry for."

He might have gone on, for he now appeared like a new man; the brightness of his eye returned, the faint color rose to his pale cheek, the tears no longer fell. It seemed as if the load was taken from his heart. The inner man triumphed.

Again he attempted to speak, but the zealous friars rushed forward, and tore him from the stage. As they conducted him to the stake, the populace ran after him, exhorting him, "while time was, to remember himself." He walked silently on, and, when he arrived at the stake, his face seemed radiant with faith and hope. There were no symptoms of the irresolution that had marked his character. They saw, that, to urge the recantation again, was hopeless, and the friars said in Latin,

one to another, "Let us go from him ; we ought not to be near him, for the Devil is with him."

He proceeded to divest himself of his outer garments, leaving only his shirt, which was long, reaching to his feet. He then offered his hand to those who stood near. One again cried to him, to agree to his former recantation. "This," said Cranmer, "is the hand that wrote it ; and, therefore, it shall first suffer punishment."

The faggots were placed around him, and fire set to them. As it crackled and arose, the wind blew it on one side. With a calm, fervent aspect, his face appeared lighted by the flames, as that of Moses is described upon the mount. He stretched forth his hand. "This is the hand that offended," said he ; and, deliberately placing it in the flames, stood unmoved, uttering no groan, and not discovering by his countenance any sensibility to pain. The flames kindled round him. More than once he was heard to say, "Lord Jesus, receive my soul !"

We know that Cranmer has been severely judged by his fellow-men for his recantations, while the most candid have thought they gained something by endeavouring to prove, that he wrote but *one*, and that the others were forged. It is not surprising that Catholics should triumph in his weakness, and exclaim, "This is the man," &c. But shall we refuse him our sympathy at this try-

ing time, when, probably, the recollection, that he had been instrumental to a similar death in others, wrought his frame to agony. Who does not feel, that love of life is one of the strongest principles of our nature ; and who does not shrink from death, even under the most alleviating circumstances ? Surrounded by an affectionate household, the hand fast locked in the hand of a friend, and the soul borne upwards on the wings of fervent and devout prayer, yet, there is still a fearful looking forward to the final moment, to the last death-struggle. But, when the soul is to be separated from the body by lingering torments, is it strange that the inward man should faint and perish in the conflict ?

There have been men, nay, women, too, so constituted, that they have sung “hosannas of glad joy,” while the flames were curling round them. Others have yielded, for a time, to the insanity of terror, and, under its influence, felt that exemption from torture could hardly be obtained too dearly.

Jerome of Prague, one of the most zealous of the early reformers, rushed into danger to save his friend, John Huss. Finding he came too late, that the sentence had been pronounced and executed, and his ashes thrown into the Rhine, he felt himself compelled by prudence to return to Bohemia. On the road, he was arrested and

sent back to Constance. "At his first appearance, a thousand voices exclaimed ; ' Away with him ! Burn him, burn him ! ' Consigned to the horrors of a lonely and protracted imprisonment, in a noxious dungeon," he yielded to that weakness, which springs from nervous distress, and made a temporary submission. But, when restored to the light and air of heaven, his spirit grew strong, his feverish and fluttering pulse resumed its calm and regular movement, the insanity passed away, his faith and fortitude returned, and, like his friend Huss, he died a martyr and a hero.

Let us remember the agony of him, who, in the garden, prayed that, " if it were possible, the cup might pass from him " ; and, amidst these sunny days, when we may go in glad throngs to the house of God, when we are not called to " weep by the rivers of Babylon," or " hang our harps upon the willows," let us try to place ourselves, for a moment, in the situation of Cranmer. Who will not tremble for his own fortitude ? who will not fear, that, like Peter, he may deny and weep ? Let not the weakness of human nature destroy our sympathies, but, rather, prove a bond to bind *us*, who share it, closer to each other ; to make us more charitable, more patient, and more ready to forgive. So shall the old world and the new, Catholics and Protestants, find one

common bond of relationship ; and, while they conscientiously adhere to what they believe to be the true faith, remember, that there is but one God, and one Father over all.

THE END.









